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RICE UNIVERSITY

Nineteenth-Century Organs in Perú and the Special Case of Innocente Foglia

By

Phillip David Kloecner

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APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE:

Anne Schnoebelen, Director
Joseph and Ida Kirkland Mullen
Professor of Musicology

Clyde Holloway, Professor
Organ

David Soley, Assistant Professor
Music Theory and Composition

Edward Cox, Associate Professor
History

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ABSTRACT

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Although most of the organs found in Perú today were imported from Europe during the hundred years that followed independence and the establishment of the Republic (1821), only a few of this large and unique collection have been studied and evaluated. These instruments attest to a vibrant and varied use of the organ in ecclesiastical contexts that continues a long and consistent tradition, well documented from the beginnings of the viceregal era in 1535. Among the surviving nineteenth-century organs in Perú, those built by the Italian immigrant Innocente Foglia stand out because they appear to be the only organs constructed in Perú during this period of the Republic. All the Foglia organs known at present are in prominent churches in major cities and exhibit an amalgamation of various national styles, both Romantic and pre-Romantic. Innocente Foglia is also known to have repaired and restored many of the imported European organs in Perú. Basic biographical information about Foglia, recently discovered by this author and presented here for the first time, begins to shed light on the role of this unique figure in the history of the organ in Perú. A number of large and small organs exported to Perú from Belgium and France further enhance the view of Perú as a place where the organ was of primary importance in liturgical celebrations during much of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This
The author presents the previously undocumented specifications and locations of numerous organs, several of which were unknown before this study. Also, one of the three organs in Perú built by the Parisian builder Aristide Cavaillé-Coll is tentatively identified as the “Santa Cruz” organ, which in the records of the Cavaillé-Coll company is listed as having been shipped to Bolivia. The first English translations of several manuscripts and articles in French, Spanish, and Italian are included in this document.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to numerous people and institutions that have encouraged and supported my research and writing during the past two years. Principal among them are my mentors at the Shepherd School of Music: to Dr. Anne Schneebelen, my thesis advisor, I am most grateful for the many hours she has spent reading the various versions of this document and for the sage advice, so willingly given, in response; to Dr. Clyde Holloway, my organ professor, goes my profound appreciation for his encouragement from the earliest stages of planning my research and for his patience and skill in answering my many questions concerning virtually every aspect of organ building and design.

It was the Honorable Gonzalo de Benito, then Ambassador of Spain to Perú, whose efforts on my behalf ultimately led to the discovery of the immigration records concerning Innocente Foglia in the Archivo General de la Nación. His gracious hospitality to me, in every way, was a marvelous gift.

To the several clerics and archivists who made my way through their institutions a pleasant and productive experience, I offer heartfelt thanks: at the archives in the Lima Cathedral: Monseñors Weisse and Piñeros and Lothar Buse Cárdenas; at the archbishop's archives at the Seminary of Santo Teribio: Laura Gutierrez; at the Rare Book and Special Collection Library at Duke University, Samuel Hammond and his staff.

I can never adequately express my thanks to my trustworthy guides and companions throughout the many weeks we traversed the streets and highways of
Perú together: Sandra Vasquez Medina, Guillermo Luis Orellana, and Raúl Edmundo Grados.

The entire Alvarez-Calderón family (Lichi, Jorge, Jaime, Marie, and all their uncles and aunts) contributed mightily to my sense of well-being and nourishment through their unparalleled graciousness and hospitality.

Dr. Paul Rizo-Patrón, professor of history at the Catholic University of Perú, in Lima, helped me to gain special privileges at the Instituto Riva-Agüero. From this venerable institution, I was able to obtain numerous documents that were not available elsewhere.

The following persons gave much needed assistance with translations of various portions of the texts in this document: Claire Frazier (French), Betty Graham (Spanish), and Alejandra Lopez (Italian).

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PREFACE

My fascination with the music of Perú began when I read Arndt von Gavel's pioneering volume *Investigaciones Musicales de los Archivos Coloniales en el Perú*,¹ a gift from my friends and colleagues Jamie and Marie Alvarez-Calderón. Their family has been a major supporter of the arts in Perú for more than a century and was intimately involved with all aspects of the production of von Gavel’s landmark publication, which appeared in 1974. The book piqued my interest in what organ music might still lie undiscovered in the archives of numerous colorful churches of this noble and notable South American republic. Because my preliminary research and my correspondence with the dean of Latin American musicology, Robert M. Stevenson, professor emeritus of the University of California-Los Angeles, indicated that he had carried out an exhaustive, but fruitless, search for organ music in those archives, my focus turned to the organs of the legendary cathedrals and churches of Perú.

As the result of a kind invitation from the Alvarez-Calderón family to visit them in Perú, I began planning a research trip there in which I would try to learn as much as I could about the organs of their country. As only forces greater than coincidence or fate could ordain, it was a conversation with a colleague at the Shepherd School of Music, Lois Gurney, which initiated the improbable series of events that have resulted in this thesis. When I indicated to Lois that I was planning a trip to Perú, she told me she had traveled there several years earlier

¹ Musical Investigations in the Colonial Archives of Perú.
and cheerfully offered to show me several pictures of an organ she had taken during her time in Lima. In these pictures I saw for the first time what would become the very familiar name of Innocente Foglia,\(^2\) elegantly engraved in a nameplate above the console of the organ in the monastery church of San Francisco. (See Figure A-1, p. 76.) Upon observing the professionally manufactured nameplate, I had a compelling intuition that there was a strong tradition of organ building in Perú whose story was waiting to be told.

In preparing for my journey, I was gratified and very surprised to come across Hans van Gemert’s *Órganos Históricos del Perú* in the Rice University library. Upon reading van Gemert’s book, I was relieved to find that it would not be necessary for me to tell the *entire* history of organ building in Perú. He had ably documented scores of colonial organs in the Cuzco region and referred to several organs from the nineteenth century in Perú, including those of Foglia. Although there are probably hundreds of colonial organs that remain undiscovered and undocumented, I decided to devote my efforts to studying and documenting the nineteenth-century organs because these instruments have not received any significant attention.

Van Gemert’s address in Johannesburg, South Africa, is printed inside the cover of his monograph, and while reading the book I remembered that my colleague, Lois, was a native of Johannesburg. With the kind assistance of Lois’s sister, Sylvia, who lives in Johannesburg, plus two electronic messages, one telephone call, and a fax, in less than thirty-six hours I had embarked on what has become a long and incredibly gratifying association with the man whose work provided a foundation for the discoveries to be presented in the chapters that follow.

\(^2\) The organ builder Innocente Foglia is one of the principal subjects of this study.
My decision to pursue a study of the nineteenth-century organs of Perú and the work of Innocente Foglia, in particular, was heartily encouraged by van Gemert. In the course of my project, I have become familiar with significant research concerning nineteenth-century organs carried out in other South American countries during the past several years, especially with regard to the work of the French master organ builder Aristide Cavaillé-Coll, the centennial of whose death was commemorated in the year of my two trips to Perú.

Throughout the Western Hemisphere, interest in and the study of organs and organ music from the Romantic era has grown steadily throughout the last two decades of the twentieth century. Part of a general awareness of the unique styles and performance practices of music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this movement has been growing rapidly and is becoming a staple of academic music curricula in much the same way that music of earlier epochs was treated four, five, and six decades ago.

South America is in many ways a prime location for the study of various styles and traditions of organs. The continent as a whole has not had available large amounts of money with which to update and replace its many organs during the last two hundred years. Consequently, they have been left unrepaired and therefore spared the unfortunate alterations and desecrations that more affluent societies have perpetrated on that part of their cultural heritage. Although in relatively poor mechanical condition, most of the South American organs remain unaltered, and in that condition they easily afford us an impression of what they were like when new.

My first visit to Perú was made from 3 through 16 January 1999. During the first four days of this period, I examined the organs and worked in the municipal library of the second most populous city in the country, the southeastern city of Arequipa. For the remaining time, I was privileged to have
access to the archives of the Lima Cathedral and those of its archbishopric, now housed in the Seminary of Santo Teribio. At the end of the second week, it was clear that another, more extended trip would be needed to document and study many additional sources of information that I could not possibly consult in the space of two weeks.

At the suggestion of Jesse Eschbach, professor of organ at the University of North Texas, in Denton, and in preparation for my return, I spent two days, 23 and 24 March, in the Rare Book and Special Collections Library at Duke University, in Durham, North Carolina. There I studied the documents in the Lapresté collection, which consists of photocopies of sixteen bound volumes of letters, indexes, contracts, and proposals from the Cavaillé-Coll company from 1833 until 1859.

I returned to Lima on 31 May 1999 and stayed until 3 July. Throughout this journey of discovery, my feelings of accomplishment were tempered by regular difficulties in gaining access to several archives and organs, despite having received confirmations and promises of access to them by the often jealous and parochial people, lay and clerical alike, who stand guard at their entrances. Although in those five weeks I had hoped to re-visit Arequipa and make a pilgrimage to Cuzco, a rich mecca of myriad artistic distinctions, difficulty with arranging domestic travel made those plans impossible. In any case, however, my hours of work in the various churches and archives in Lima and my trip to visit the Cavaillé-Coll organ in Pisco were so successful that they left me with virtually no time to travel elsewhere.

In addition to uncovering the record of Innocente Foglia's return to Lima from Italy in 1921 and several documents related to his death in 1927, identifying the Cavaillé-Coll organ in Pisco, translating several letters from the Cavaillé-Coll company records, and providing the specifications and addresses of many
nineteenth-century organs, I have been able to suggest new and more reasonable chronologies of the creation, installation, and renovation of most of the organs studied.

This brief study of nineteenth-century organs in Perú should be considered only a preliminary chapter in what will certainly turn out to be, like the history of the ancient center of the Incan empire itself, an alluring and enticing story.
CHAPTER I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE
ORGAN IN PERÚ

Although this document is intended to address specific aspects of nineteenth-century organs in Perú, one cannot begin such an essay without first providing the context into which nineteenth-century European organs were introduced to the fledgling republic.

Perú boasts one of the most fascinating and extensive organ histories in the world. Organs and organists are mentioned continually in the archival records of churches and cathedrals throughout the country. The first organs in Perú are thought to have been introduced soon after the conquest by Francisco Pizzaro in 1535. Desiring to reproduce all aspects of the ecclesiastical culture in their homeland, the conquistadors apparently brought organs, organists, and organeros (builders and repairmen) with them. There were surely more than a thousand organs in regular use during the viceregal epoch throughout the Andes. At the cathedral of Cuzco, there were in place by 1553, just eighteen years after the imposition of viceregal authority, two organs of Spanish manufacture.¹ In Lima, the cathedral received delivery of its second large organ in 1621, and in 1680, a third organ, built by Ignacio de Vergara.²

²Ibid., 57.
Likewise, there were numerous organists who served from the earliest years of the republic. In Cuzco, by 1582, Gonzalo de Mora had long been established as the cathedral organist, and Alonso Maldonado and Thomas de Herrera were two who held the same post in the first several decades of the seventeenth century.\(^3\) During the same period, Miguel de Bobadilla was serving as the principal organist at the Lima Cathedral, where his responsibilities included playing psalm verses on the organ during the daily office. It can be assumed that these psalm verses were improvised and that they were played in *alternatim* with the psalm verses sung by the choir.\(^4\)

One should also note that during the colonial period Perú comprised much of what is now known as Bolivia. This region was referred to as “High” or “Upper” Perú until 1776, when a new viceroyalty that encompassed this territory was created and centered at La Plata (present-day Sucre). Long before the establishment of this new colonial center, La Plata had been a leading inland center of culture and natural resources.\(^5\)

Between the cathedrals in Cuzco and La Plata, there was a constant rivalry over which one could attract the best musicians. Frequently La Plata gained the upper hand in this respect, on account of its enormous wealth, which was derived from the staggeringly rich mineral resources of the region. Organists, like the singers and instrumentalists who also provided daily musical services for ecclesiastical institutions, would follow their financial interests and be drawn to new positions with promises of higher stipends and increased prominence.\(^6\)

At the cathedral of La Plata, Baltazar Fernández de los Reyes was perhaps not unique in Latin America in accepting the dual duties of organist and

\(^3\) *Ibid.*, 72.
\(^4\) *Ibid.*, 73.
organero. As early as 1596, in addition to his ongoing duties as a performing musician, he was called upon to repair and restore both of the cathedral's two organs. This late-sixteenth-century date suggests relatively early installations of these two organs, since an organ of any quality would have had to have been installed and in use for a minimum of thirty or forty years before such a comprehensive overhaul would be necessary.

As further evidence that organs, organists, and organeros were highly prized and sought after throughout colonial Perú, the chapter of the Cuzco Cathedral authorized funds to remunerate none less than Cristóbal de León to repair the rotten leather of one of the cathedral organs in 1583. De León is known to have been the organero of the Seville Cathedral in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and though he did not travel to Perú just to repair an organ in Cuzco, his work surely cost the chapter a considerable sum, which they obviously thought was a necessary investment in their organs.

The preceding narrative of impressive accomplishments with respect to the organs and organists in the early history of Perú's colonial era mirrors that which could be developed in other areas of Western art music in this Spanish colony. However, the mere listing of these remarkable developments in what was such a remote and, in many ways, inhospitable territory misses a fundamental aspect of these observations: from almost the very first years of colonial rule, native Indians were recruited for instruction in all aspects of the music traditions of their conquerors. This, of course, meant that the Church charged its musicians with the responsibility both of providing music for daily and weekly liturgies in cathedrals, parish churches, monasteries, and convents and also of instructing indigenous pupils in the rudiments of the musical art. It comes as no surprise,

* Ibid., 185.
* Ibid., 186.
* Ibid., 96.
therefore, to learn that Incas were also recruited for instruction in the art of organ building, and presumably organ playing, although no specific reference to the latter has been found.

One learns about such matters, as well as specific characteristics of twenty-two colonial organs built in Perú, from the work of Hans van Gemert. From 1977 to 1990, van Gemert made two visits per year to Perú to investigate the numerous organs in and around Cuzco, the ancient capitol city of the Inca empire. His is the only recorded study of colonial organs in Perú. Van Gemert's research addresses both the origins of these organs and their tonal and mechanical characteristics. Drawing heavily on the work of Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, van Gemert lists the numerous contracts stored in various archives in Cuzco that give the names of the builders and the terms under which organs of various sizes and designs were made, repaired, and restored. Most of these builders were of Indian origin.

These seventeenth-century contracts were made with Indian and mestizo craftsmen who had probably been instructed in the various aspects of organ building by their fathers and grandfathers, who had themselves been trained by their conquerors, with imported Spanish organs as their models. These small, highly decorated organs were to be found in virtually every cathedral, church, and chapel in the country by the turn of the eighteenth century. Because of earthquakes, fires, neglect, financial exigencies, or ignorance, the vast majority of

\[10\] Hans van Gemert, Órganos Históricos del Perú ([Lima]: n.p., [1990]). This book is available only at: Librería El Virrey, Miguel Dasso 141, (San Isidro) Lima 27; Telephone 440-0607.

\[11\] As verified in a letter to the author on 15 December 1998, van Gemert wrote up the results of his research in a manuscript dated 1984, which also contained information regarding two late-nineteenth-century organs built by the Italian immigrant Innocente Foglia. In 1989, van Gemert expanded the original manuscript to include additional information about colonial organs and two other Foglia organs. However, apparently because of political and social unrest, the Peruvian editor lost the second manuscript, and therefore could print only the first one.

\[12\] Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle, Derroteros del Arte Cuzqueño (Lima[?]: n.p., 1960).

\[13\] Van Gemert, 99-104.
colonial organs that once could have been found in urban areas are no longer in existence. As van Gemert’s work indicates, it is predominantly in the rural and remote areas that the clearest evidence of the extensive collection of colonial organs survives today, and of these extant artifacts, most have yet to be studied or catalogued. Furthermore, there are numerous indications that this healthy proliferation and renewal of organs continued until the end of colonial rule in 1821, and perhaps somewhat beyond that time.

After this juncture in Peruvian history, the fates of organs and organists became even more closely tied to the vicissitudes of the turbulent political and social winds of the nineteenth century. It is not until around 1850, when the new republic had stabilized politically and embraced a more liberal, free-trade economy, that one finds evidence of new organs being built and installed in cathedrals, churches, and monastic chapels, most commonly in urban locations. However, these new organs differed in two regards from the organs built in the colonial era. Not only were many of them significantly larger, but they were also almost exclusively imported from Europe. Therefore, the greater expenses and distances associated with importing organs from thousands of miles away seem not to have been an insurmountable concern to those who were selecting new organs in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Indeed, a strong political movement developed in the middle of the nineteenth century in Perú that was motivated by the promises of the ephemeral guano industry. This movement sought to promote less restrictive trade with European countries. Reducing import taxes and opening Perú to European and North American commodities were seen as a necessity if the export of guano as a fertilizer was to create the prosperity promised by the ruling merchant class of that time. An influx of musical instruments from Europe would have been virtually impossible during the first thirty years of the republic with its
protectionist trade policies, but by the middle of the century such trade was encouraged.\textsuperscript{14}

It is, of course, impossible to state precisely how many European organs were exported to Perú in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but if an informal inventory of the organs in present-day Lima and Arequipa is any indication, the nineteenth-century Peruvian culture was in no way less privileged with respect to the number and variety of organs than that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In fact, the organs imported in the nineteenth century were, by and large, better built and more enduring than their colonial predecessors, which they eventually replaced in many of the churches in Lima, Arequipa, and presumably in other urban areas of the country.

During his years of research in Perú, van Gemert encountered numerous European-made nineteenth- and twentieth-century organs installed in Peruvian ecclesiastical institutions. His list of these organs follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CITY</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
<th>BUILDER</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lima</td>
<td>Cathedral</td>
<td>Hippolyte Loret, Brussels</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Pedro</td>
<td>Juan Dourte, Bilbao</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maria Auxiliadora</td>
<td>G. Tamburini, Cremona</td>
<td>1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Augustin</td>
<td>Stolz &amp; Fils, Paris</td>
<td>1874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Felipe</td>
<td>Fleischer, Münster</td>
<td>1872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Rosa (Tacna)</td>
<td>Cavaillé-Coll, Paris (Opus 312)</td>
<td>1868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jesús. María y José</td>
<td>Cavaillé-Coll, Paris (Opus 415)</td>
<td>1873</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Rosa (Moquegua)</td>
<td>J. Thibouville-Lamy, Paris</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arequipa</td>
<td>Cathedral</td>
<td>François Loret, Malines</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sagrado Corazón</td>
<td>Mutin - Cavaillé-Coll</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>La Recoleta</td>
<td>J. Thibouville-Lamy, Paris</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuzco</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>Karl Walcker, Ludwigsburg</td>
<td>1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisco</td>
<td>Cathedral-San Clemente</td>
<td>Cavaillé-Coll, Paris</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although in no way comprehensive, this list of instruments is equally distributed by country of origin and date of manufacture during the last half of the nineteenth century and indicates a continuing interest in pipe organs of high quality and diverse tonal designs well into the twentieth century. Doubtless, many more nineteenth-century European organs than these were exported to Perú. Most of these are either still to be documented and studied, or were removed during the last half of the twentieth century because of disuse, destruction by earthquakes or fires, neglect, or the lack of someone to repair or service the instruments.

So far, there is no evidence that a renaissance of organ building occurred in rural Perú after the overthrow of colonial domination. As Hans van Gemert has ably demonstrated, colonial organs are still to be found, unaltered, but deteriorated and sometimes plundered, in the churches of hundreds of tiny villages throughout the country. Only recently has there been an effort to restore and repair some of the more notable Peruvian colonial organs.15

Except for those previously mentioned organist-organeros of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there is no known record of any person, native or otherwise, building organs in the large cities of Perú until the last five years of the nineteenth century. At this juncture, the Italian immigrant Innocente Foglia came into this distinctive context of aging colonial organs plus many significantly larger imported European organs to build, restore, and service many of the country's most enduring organs. Until his arrival in Perú, it can be assumed (since there are not any records indicating otherwise) that organists themselves carried out most of the service work on Perú's organs in the nineteenth century.

15 Bernabé Calderón, "Restauran todas las obras de arte de la iglesia de Andahuaylillas," El Comercio (Lima), 22 September 1999, p. a12.
As the following pages will relate, Innocente Foglia left his valuable mark on the pipe organs of his adopted country, apparently without any recorded recognition or credit for having worked so diligently to augment and improve this part of Perú's cultural patrimony.
CHAPTER II

THE LIFE AND WORK OF INNOCENTE FOGLIA

Biographical Information

In attempting to uncover the many mysteries surrounding the history of the organ in nineteenth-century Perú, one must be most careful in evaluating the available sources of information, especially those proffered by eager and very well-meaning people. Such is the case when considering the life and work of Innocente¹⁶ Foglia in Perú. The vast preponderance of material that has been written about the Italian immigrant, mostly in the form of local newspaper articles, has as its source the opinions and the recalled hearsay of the few Peruvians who are still interested in such matters.

The most interested and the most prolific in his dissemination of one set of facts and figures concerning Foglia is Domingo Gamboa Llica, the current organist of the cathedral in Arequipa, the second largest city in Perú. For decades, Gamboa, a self-assumed authority on most matters musical, wrote articles and supplied information through interviews for Arequipa’s principal newspaper, El Pueblo. These articles concern the organ in the cathedral, which Foglia restored at the end of the nineteenth century, and, in the same city, the

¹⁶ The Italian spelling of Foglia’s first name will be used throughout this document. It is this spelling that appears on the nameplate of all four of the known organs he built in Perú. It is only in documents that survive from later in his life that one finds the Spanish variant, Inocente.
organ that Foglia built for the monastery church of St. Francis. However, much of the information offered by the seemingly authoritative Mr. Gamboa does not jibe with the firsthand observations of Hans van Gemert, archival records in Lima, or my investigations. Were the relatively simple scenario of Foglia's life and work true, as expressed in Gamboa's personal communication with me, or as documented by newspaper articles written by or quoting the cathedral organist, there would be many fewer unresolved questions about this most intriguing of organ builders in Perú. But there exists too much contradictory evidence for that.

The significance of the work of Innocente Foglia in Perú stems from several factors. He appears to have been the only person building organs in Perú during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century. Those organs he built have survived a century of climatological and environmental stresses, which cannot be said of most organs that were constructed during the colonial period. Foglia left his mark, by way of repairs and renovations, on many of the nineteenth-century organs imported from Europe to the most prominent cities and ecclesiastical institutions in the country. He was clearly a person of persistence and ingenuity, having successfully carried out numerous organ projects in some of the most remote and isolated regions of the country.

While most of the details of Foglia's life and work remain uncertain at the present time, what can be said with certainty is found in two documents held in the Archivo General de la Nación, located in the Palacio de Justicia, Jirón Manuel Cuadros, in Lima.

The first document found was created on 23 February 1921 and recorded in a register entitled Dirección de Policía, Sección de Pasaportes. The entry indicates that on this day, Foglia was returning to Perú from Italy via the
passenger ship Europa. (Advertisements and notices in El Comercio, the principal private newspaper of Lima, corroborate the arrival of this ship in the harbor at Callao and give its previous ports of call.)17 Though the purpose and duration of Foglia’s journey to Italy are not known, this record provides the only concrete source of basic and essential biographical data about him, however indirect some of the data are. (In it his first name is spelled with only one “n.”)

On page 487 of this register, record no. 1974 provides the following information, to which Foglia added his signature and a photograph: his age (60), his nationality (Italian), his civil status (widowed), his port of embarkation (Genoa, Italy), the date and number of his passport (23 February 1920; no. 674), the date of his arrival in Lima (23 February 1921), his address in Rimac18 (166 Alameda de los Descalzos), and his occupation (organ building/repairing).19 Under Observaciones, there is an indication, dated 5 March 1921, that his entry into Perú at Lima was as a permanent resident, and under the same heading, with a date of 4 January 1926, that his temporary (?) identification had been exchanged for a permanent identification card, no. 26407. The document indicates clearly that Foglia retained his Italian citizenship throughout his life and was never a naturalized Peruvian citizen, as claimed by Domingo Gamboa.20 Furthermore, this record allows us to extrapolate his year of birth to have been 1860 if his birthday were after 23 February, or if on or before that date, 1861.

The address given in this immigration record is one of a complex of buildings belonging to the Convento de Patrocinio. At the present time, no. 166 is occupied by an associated parochial day school. Whether this was Foglia’s

17 El Comercio (Lima), 19 February 1921, Edición de la mañana, 10; 22 February 1921, Edición de la mañana, 8; 23 February 1921, Edición de la tarde, 1.
18 Rimac lies just north/northeast of the center of Lima, across the Rimac River, which forms a boundary with the capital city. In 1926, Rimac was incorporated as a separate municipality, but until then, it had been a district of Lima.
19 Trabaja componiendo órganos.
residence and/or workshop for the duration of his years in Perú, or whether this was his address only after returning from Italy in 1921, is not known. Nevertheless, monks at the Franciscan monastery in Arequipa, where Foglia built one of his organs, state that they believed Foglia lived and worked in Rimac. Therefore, it is possible that he lived at this address for the entirety of his years in Lima.

The second document found in the national archives is a record of Foglia’s death on 27 December 1927. This record is somewhat problematic because of the indistinct nature of some of its information, and would be difficult to interpret confidently if one did not have access to the immigration record discussed above. As elucidated in the following paragraphs, the death record suggests that Foglia was not well known and that he died a virtual pauper, without friends or family to give accurate information or to provide the modest funds necessary for a grave in the municipal cemetery. This information is recorded in the volume Defunciones en Hospitales, 2° Semestre 1927, on the leaves inserted between pages 164 and 165.

In this record, Foglia’s name is misspelled as “Foguell,” presumably by a hospital worker who could not reach a family member or a neighbor to determine the correct spelling—or perhaps Foglia himself gave his name indistinctly when he first arrived at the Hospital Dos de Mayo on 26 December. His age is listed as 70, close to what can be calculated from the information he gave immigration officials in February of 1921: assuming that Foglia was born in 1860, the oldest he could have been at his death in 1927 was 67. This three-year discrepancy would, again, appear to result from a lack of information from someone who knew the organ builder well.

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21 Deaths in Hospitals, second half of 1927.
22 On page 163, the information of this record is summarized, and in it the Italian organ builder’s name is spelled “Fogell.”
His civil status listed in this record is "single," and while not as descriptive as "widower," is not inaccurate. Likewise, the address listed in his death record of 1927 does not match precisely that in the immigration record of 1921, but is not incorrect. In 1921, his domicile was recorded as Alameda de los Descalzos 166. In 1927, his address was given as Patrocinio 166. The appellation "Patrocinio," given to this street in about 1925, was taken from the name of the convent under whose roof Foglia apparently lived, and the designation "Alameda de los Descalzos" is, to this day, retained for referring to the broad esplanade between the north- and southbound portions of the avenue Patrocinio. The remainder of the information communicated in the record of his death is presumably correct: place of birth and nationality (Italy), race (white), cause of death (chronic myocarditis).

Upon his demise at the Hospital Dos de Mayo, Foglia's body was released to the Parroquia de Nuestra Señora de Cocharacas, which is located across the street from the hospital; his death was registered in the parish records; and then his remains were delivered to the municipal cemetery, Cementerio Presbítero Maestro, on 29 December. At the Beneficencia Pública Oficina de Trámite Documentario, Jirón Lampa 754, the volume Inhumación en Niches Temporales, Año 1927, records the receipt of his body by the cemetery and provides further confirmation of the preceding procedure. On page 325, record no. 363 indicates that his body was stored temporarily in niche San Raul E.64. This record would normally show in which grave he was buried, subsequent to payment of the various fees related to the delivery of his body to the cemetery and its interment. Instead, this column is blank. An appropriate interpretation of this "omission" is

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23 Soltero.
25 Place of birth, nationality, and race are corroborated in the immigration record of 1921.
26 Parish of Our Lady of Cocharacas.
27 A column headed Fosa.
that no one paid the cemetery fees or claimed the body to take it to a different location, and after several days, Foglia’s body was disposed of by some unspecified means.\textsuperscript{28} The consistent misspelling of Foglia’s name as “Foguell” in all the documents of the parish and the cemetery lends further credence to the premise that he was not closely associated with any persons or institutions who would have known and been able to correct the spelling of his name in these documents at the time of his death.

As important as all these biographical data are to an understanding of Foglia’s life, there are still numerous gaps in any comprehensive and complete view of his life. They must await further investigation and research.

\textbf{Organs Built by Foglia}

It is well documented that of all the immigrant communities in Lima during the first hundred years of the Republic, the Italians were the most influential in almost every kind of endeavor, especially those of commerce and the arts.\textsuperscript{29} It is easy to imagine, therefore, that Innocente Foglia came to Perú either at the invitation of someone he knew, perhaps another Italian immigrant who had gone before him and could identify the need for an organ technician, or with an informed and reasonable expectation that in Lima, in the years following the war with Chile (1879-83), he could find sufficient work. The realization that his services as an organ builder and repairman were desperately needed emerges clearly from an enumeration of the organs he built, repaired, or renovated. Furthermore, the majority of the organs he built or repaired in Perú now show

\textsuperscript{28} Samuel Rojas Cortegana (Beneficencia Pública), personal communication, 24 June 1999.

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{El Comercio}, special supplement, \textit{Los Italianos del Perú}, 2 June 1999.
significant wear, which could have occurred only over a period of several decades subsequent to his work on them. From this observation one can infer that this group of organs was used regularly during the first several decades of the twentieth century.

The information presently available about Foglia's work as an organ builder comes from close examination of the four known organs of his that survive in Perú. These instruments give a good idea of Foglia's habits and tendencies as an organ builder, but like many of the details of his personal life, specific knowledge regarding the chronology of his work remains a mystery, and what is known is somewhat ambiguous. What we do know about his organs invites further questions pertinent to his activity as an organ builder: did Innocente Foglia immigrate directly to Perú (or Lima) from Italy in the nineteenth century, or did he arrive in Perú by way of another South American country? Are there other instruments in other cities and countries that he built? Did he have assistants in his work of building, repairing, and restoring organs? What were his credentials as an organ builder, and where did he obtain them?

A promising clue to the latter question comes from independent entries in two books concerning historic organs in the province of Bergamo, Italy.\textsuperscript{30,31} It is easily conceivable that Innocente Foglia was related to and apprenticed with Prospero Foglia, who established an organ-building firm in Palazuolo sull'Oglio, and later moved it to Bergamo. Giovanni Foglia (1856-1922), Prospero's son, assumed ownership of the workshop in 1884, and with a work force of as many as twelve, achieved notable success. Innocente's presumed date of birth, either

\textsuperscript{31} Carlo Traini, \textit{Organari Bergamaschi} (Bergamo: Comune di Bergamo, 1958), 71.
1860 or 1861, would make him a contemporary of Giovanni; perhaps they were cousins.\textsuperscript{32}

Innocente Foglia built organs in Lima at San Francisco (1901) and at Los Huérfanos (1901), in Cuzco at Santa Teresa (1898), and in Arequipa at San Francisco (date unknown). These dates of installation, based on the dates and other inscriptions found in or on these organs, were first identified by Hans van Gemert.\textsuperscript{33} Domingo Gamboa, the cathedral organist in Arequipa, maintains that Foglia's organ at San Francisco in Arequipa was built in 1895, but this date may not be reliable, coming as it does from a gentleman who insists that Foglia's organ in Cuzco was built in 1890, and that of San Francisco in Lima in 1903.\textsuperscript{34} Indeed, an informal publication issued by the Franciscan monastery in Lima, entitled \textit{Conjunto Monumental} “San Francisco de Asís,” states that the Foglia organ was installed in 1900.\textsuperscript{35} This apparent discrepancy between the date observed by van Gemert (1901) and that recorded by the monastery is likely the result of confusion between the date of delivery and the date of inauguration.

Using the dates of installation observed by van Gemert, and even temporarily considering the dates generated from the questionable assumptions of Gamboa, one can easily draw two conclusions. Both gentlemen agree that of the four original organs by Foglia, the one at Santa Teresa in Cuzco was the first to be built. In addition, the data show that Foglia's building of new organs is concentrated within a relatively few years around the turn of the century. This concentration becomes even more intriguing when one considers that he was accomplishing other renovations during this period.\textsuperscript{36} Given the present lack of

\textsuperscript{32} English translations of the two articles may be found in appendix A, p. 95.
\textsuperscript{34} Domingo Gamboa, personal communication, 6 January 1999.
\textsuperscript{35} A un lado de la sillería se aprecia un órgano de 1900 obra del italiano Inocente Foglia, folio 5, versus.
\textsuperscript{36} See pages 48, 49, 51, 57-65 of this document.
reliable evidence for any organs completed by Foglia in Perú earlier than 1895, and in view of his installing his first original instrument in Perú in Cuzco (which lies at a remote altitude of twelve thousand feet and is still difficult to reach by land from Lima), it could be persuasively argued\(^37\) that Foglia lived and worked elsewhere in the Andes, perhaps Bolivia or another region more easily accessible from the eastern coast of the continent, before settling in Lima. Anyone sailing from Europe would certainly have found it easier to reach the east coast of South America during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, because the Panama Canal had not yet been built. However, it is clear that the west coast of South America was not infrequently a primary destination for immigrants from Europe.\(^38\)

All four organs are relatively small, one-manual instruments, with spring chests, contained in freestanding cases. Except for the organ at Los Huérfanos, they have nameplates and stop faces professionally engraved in porcelain. Such observations, combined with a wide variety of tonal characteristics within and among his organs, suggest that Foglia was a builder who was influenced by numerous national traditions of organ building, and that he had easy access to materials, allowing him to build organs of eclectic design.

Cuzco

The organ at Santa Teresa in Cuzco has the following tonal specification:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tromba</th>
<th>Principale</th>
<th>Violino</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 bassi</td>
<td>8 soprani</td>
<td>8 soprani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^37\) Van Gemert has suggested this hypothesis, too.
Violone     8 bassi
Ottava      4 bassi
Decimaquinta[15th]    [2]bassi
Oboe        8 bassi
Ottava      4 sopranis
Decima      2 sopranis
Bourdon     8 sopranis
Flauto      8 sopranis

Since I have been unable to verify by firsthand experience either these specifications or the information that follows regarding this organ, I am indebted to Hans van Gemert for sharing his observations with me.

The organ that Foglia built in Cuzco has one keyboard and no pedalboard. The freestanding case, with swell shades on the front facing the altar, is situated at the back of the church in a second-story loft, with the keyboard on the left, en fenêtre, perpendicular to the church's central axis. The swell shades on the front of the case are controlled by a hook-down pedal in the toeboard; when hooked down, the shades are open, and when the pedal is not hooked down, the shades are shut. Van Gemert explains the presence of the nonfunctioning keys at both extremes of the keyboard as remnants of a transposable keyboard system that no longer functions.  

The treble pipes speak from a windchest that is separate from the one that supplies air to the bass pipes, allowing the organist to use different combinations of sounds in the right and left hands simultaneously. The treble chest is placed at the front of the case and its pipes are arranged chromatically, while the bass pipes are arranged on the second chest, at the rear of the case, diatonically, with the longest pipes in the center. Both chests are spring chests, a style of windchest that was used frequently in Europe until the eighteenth century, when the slider chest became the most common type of windchest. That Foglia used spring chests in all his organs in Perú suggests that his previous experience had been with older instruments that used the antiquated type of windchest. The

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39 Hans van Gemert, 80.
wind chests are supplied with air from two bellows that are pumped by manual levers. No electric blowers have been added to this organ. Despite these pre-modern technical features, the tonal design of the organ does not include the mixtures or mutations one would expect to find in European organs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this regard, therefore, the organ, with its ranks of mostly 8' registers could be considered “modern” by the standards of the late nineteenth century.

Arequipa

The tonal specification of Foglia’s instrument at San Francisco in Arequipa is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Stops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principale</td>
<td>8 soprani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola</td>
<td>4 bassi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violino</td>
<td>8 soprani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bordone</td>
<td>8 bassi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bordone</td>
<td>8 soprani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottava</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ripieno</td>
<td>3 file</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tromba</td>
<td>8 soprani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voce celeste</td>
<td>8 soprani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flauto Armonico</td>
<td>8 soprani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flauto in quinta</td>
<td>[2 2/3] soprani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottavino</td>
<td>2 soprani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voci umane</td>
<td>16 soprani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrabasso</td>
<td>16 alla pedale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeolina</td>
<td>8 alla pedale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This organ is installed against the back wall of the rear balcony, with the console, en fenêtre, built into the front of the case. (See Figures A-1 and A-2, p. 76.) Above the console on the front of the case are three flat pipe displays, with seventeen pipes\(^{40}\) made of a lead-tin alloy in the broad central display and five

\(^{40}\) On 5 January 1999, one pipe was missing.
pipes made of zinc in each of the two narrow lateral displays.\textsuperscript{41} Around the tops of the pipes in the central display, the case is open and spacious, very much like the organ cases designed and constructed in Italy during the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{42}

The keyboard has a compass of fifty-eight notes, and the pedalboard has a very unusual range of twenty-one notes: from low C to the G sharp in the next higher octave. The main windchest is divided into a treble portion and a bass portion, and there is a separate windchest inside the back of the case for the two ranks of pedal pipes. Both are spring chests.

There are four metal hook-down levers, operated by the feet, protruding from the case under the keyboard and above the pedalboard. (See Figure A-3, p. 77.) From left to right, they are labeled Tremolo, Distacco del tasto alla pedaliera (keyboard to pedal coupler), Espressione alla voci umane (expression for the vox humana), and Forte (engaging this lever with the right foot brings on all of the stops of the organ).

The third foot lever calls attention to another curious feature of this organ, namely, the placement of the voci umane pipes in an enclosed box, to which wind is delivered via metal tubing from the main windchest. (The use of the plural on the label, instead of the singular, voce umana, is also unexpected and unprecedented.) It is not known whether these pipes are principal pipes, in the Renaissance or Baroque style, or reed pipes, typical of the Romantic style, although the relatively low height of the expressive box suggests reed pipes with half- or quarter-length resonators.

The Espressione alla voci umane pedal controls the movement, up and down, of the top panel of the expressive box, which covers the box at a gently

\textsuperscript{41} Van Gemert, 83.
\textsuperscript{42} Peter Williams, The European Organ, 1450-1850 (London: B. T. Batsford, 1978), plates 80, 82-84.
sloping angle of about thirty degrees. (See Figure A-4, p. 77.) This mechanism makes the pipes in this box sound louder or softer, depending on whether the top panel is raised (open/louder) or lowered (closed/softer), and appears to have been a way of giving the organ a small number of pipes under expression without requiring the extra outlay and space necessary to build a separately enclosed windchest. Furthermore, the *voci umane* box is situated high in the case, just behind the tops of the longest pipes of the *principale* and *tromba* ranks and in front of the tops of the pedal pipes, i.e., the *aeolina* and *contrabasso*. This placement is designed to project the sound of this unique stop as a solo voice, because it would not be as prominent if it were speaking from the same level as the other pipes, at the rear of the main windchest.

Moreover, it is very unusual, if not unique, to find a rank of *voce umana* pipes at 16' pitch. Foglia was clearly attempting to create a solo voice that was full-bodied. Because this group of pipes sounds only in the upper half of the keyboard range, the lowest-sounding pipe for this stop (middle C sharp) would need to have a resonator only eight feet long, if it were of full length, or only four feet long if it were to be of half length. Half-length or quarter-length resonators would fit more comfortably in the confined space of the box enclosing these pipes, while still delivering a substantial sound.

The presence of the *aeolina* rank is remarkable for its placement in the pedal division: usually one finds this stop in a manual division so it can sound in combination with another soft, 8' flue register or as a subdued solo color, accompanied by another soft stop. The narrow-scaled set of wooden pipes is stained or painted a dark green-grey and has octagonal-sided toes that sit on what appears to be a slider chest which is shared with the pipes of the

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**contrabasso.** At the turn of the twentieth century, only organs built in Germany or England had such delicate strings as these, so one can be rather certain that Foglia either imported these pipes to Perú or salvaged them from a German or English organ in Perú that was being dismantled. (Note that Foglia uses the Latin name for this stop; in Italian, the nomenclature used for all of the other stops on this organ, it would have been *Eolina.*)

In considering the entire tonal makeup of the Foglia organ in Arequipa, one notices the several clearly Romantic aspects of the tonal design, as discussed in the preceding paragraphs, but a decidedly pre-Romantic characteristic is also present. The three-rank mixture (*Ripieno 3 file*) and the undivided 4' principal rank (*Ottava 4*), in combination with both the upper and lower 8' principal stops, provide the player with a full plenum throughout the entire compass of the keyboard. The precise composition of the mixture is not known at the present time.

Unfortunately, the effectiveness of the tonal character of this instrument cannot be evaluated because the electric blower that supplies wind to the organ does not function at the present time.

Lima

**Los Huérfanos**

Because of the very poor condition of the Foglia organ in the church of Los Huérfanos, very little can be said about the various characteristics of this organ. Most of the largest pipes have been removed from the case and are scattered around the floor of the choir balcony. The smallest pipes are nowhere to be

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44 Manuel Rosales, personal communication, 13 October 1999.
found. The organ case is most similar to that of Foglia's instrument in Arequipa: it has three flat pipe displays on the front, although at the present time most of the pipes have been removed from their positions in these case displays. Like his organ in Cuzco, the freestanding case is situated at the back of the church in a loft, with the keyboard on the right-hand side of the case, en fenêtre, perpendicular to the central axis of the church. The pedalboard consists of twenty-one keys, and the keyboard has fifty-eight. The organ has only twelve stops, but because most of the porcelain labels on the stop knobs are missing, it is not possible to determine the tonal composition of this organ. The organ has spring chests, like all the known Foglia organs.

Perhaps the greatest value of this organ to those seeking answers to fundamental questions about Innocente Foglia lies in the inscription on a label found in the wind chest well, which tells us where he was from:

_Innocente Foglia of Bergamo Italy_
_Manufacturer of church organs_
_Made in Lima in the year 1901_

(There is also another label in the windchest well, indicating that a Chilean organ builder repaired the organ in 1932.)

A critical reading of these inscriptions could lead to the following conclusions:

1. The fact that Foglia specifically cites his connection to Bergamo, Italy, in 1901 suggests that his arrival in Lima from Italy might have been relatively recent.

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45 Van Gemert, 85-86.
2. It is less probable that Foglia would have felt it necessary to articulate his country and city of origin, or that of his most recent residence before coming to South America, in such a remote and hidden part of the organ as the windchest well if he had arrived in Lima approximately ten or fifteen years previous to 1901, as projected, respectively, by Hans van Gemert\(^46\) and Domingo Gamboa.\(^47\)

3. In all the known organs built by Foglia, he uses the Italian form of his first name, with the double “n.” If he had been living in the Hispanic culture of Perú for ten or more years, one might expect that by the turn of the twentieth century, he would have dropped the second “n” from his first name, conforming to the Spanish form of that name. We do know that he had dropped that “extra” letter by the time he returned to Perú from Italy in February of 1921.\(^48\)

4. Unlike the other Foglia organs of which we are aware, there is no nameplate affixed to the case of this organ above the keyboard. Perhaps the lack of a formal nameplate with an indication of manufacture in Lima marks this as one of the first instruments he built in Lima. Along with his careful listing of the city and country of his origin, the pointed reference to Lima as the city of manufacture on the windchest label may also suggest that Foglia felt a need at this time to emphasize some kind of a recent change or new identity. Whereas his most recent organ(s) could have been manufactured (for Cuzco?) in a different city or country (Cuzco or Bolivia?), he might perhaps have been hoping to establish himself in Lima as a manufacturer of church organs when this instrument was installed.

\(^{46}\) Hans van Gemert, personal communication via e-mail, 10 June 1999.
\(^{47}\) Domingo Gamboa, unpublished manuscript.
\(^{48}\) See pages 10-11 of this document.
Confirmation of such conjecture must await discovery of additional data and evidence of the chronology of his work in Perú.

_San Francisco_

The largest organ known to have been built by Innocente Foglia in Perú was installed in the monastery of San Francisco in Lima. The organ sits on the epistle side, parallel to the central axis of the church, at the front of the balcony. (See Figure B-1, p. 78.) The entire organ is enclosed within a case that has expressive louvers on the front side, like his organ at Santa Teresa in Cuzco. The pedalboard has twenty-seven notes (two octaves plus two notes, ending on the D above middle C). In comparison with the pedalboards on the other Foglia organs, this one has the largest and most standard compass, but among the four Foglia organs, this organ has a most unusual keyboard compass of sixty-two notes, i.e., five octaves, plus one “extra” note, a C-sharp/D-flat. The largest nineteenth- and twentieth-century organ keyboards typically comprise sixty-one notes.

The tonal specification of this organ follows:

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bordone bassi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Clarone bassi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bordone bassi</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Corno inglese</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bordone soprani</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Viola bassi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principale bassi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Viola soprani</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principale soprani</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bordone soprani</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottava</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Flauto armonico soprani</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Duodecima 3 Corneto soprani a tre voci
Decimaquinta e nona [2, 1\(\frac{1}{3}\)]
22\(a\) 26\(a\) 29\(a\) [1, 2/3, 1/2] Ottavino soprani 2
Tromba bassi 8 Voce celeste 8
Tromba soprani 8 Voci umane soprani 16

This organ has eight functions controlled by foot levers that are placed horizontally above the pedalboard. (See Figure B-2, p. 78.) In the center is a balanced wooden swell pedal, labeled *Effeto di Eco*, which controls the opening and closing of the expressive shutters on the front of the case. Van Gemert was the first to list the identities of the foot levers. To the left of the swell pedal are four metal hook-down levers: *Espressione alla 2a tastiera, Banda Turca, Accoppiamento 1a alla 2a tastiera, and Terzo piede al pedale*. To the right of center there are three metal hook-down levers: *Forte, Mezzoforte, and Espressione al flauto Eco.*

However, since van Gemert’s last visit to Perú in 1990, these foot levers appear to have been altered, but it was not possible in June of 1999 to gain access to the organ, so the apparent changes could not be adequately evaluated.

The third foot lever from the left, which van Gemert records as *Accoppiamento 1a alla 2a tastiera*, has been made inoperable by someone placing a wooden block in the narrow vertical slit beneath the foot lever so that it does not move and cannot be deployed. In addition, the script engraved on the porcelain label above this foot lever has been vigorously erased. (A similar effort seems to have been attempted on the identifying medallion for the *Forte* lever.)

It is not clear how the manual is to be coupled to the pedal now, but a possible

\(^{49}\) Van Gemert, 87.
clue might lie in noticing that the text on the label identifying the first foot lever (Espressione alla 2a tastiera) has been overlaid with a different text that, at present, is so worn as to be illegible. Perhaps the coupling mechanism between the manual and pedal was transferred to this foot lever.

Such a thought immediately calls into question the purpose of this lever in the original design of the organ, in addition to numerous other peculiarities associated with these foot controls. Although Foglia used the term pedaliera for the pedalboard in his organ in Arequipa, he chose to call the pedalboard in this organ the seconda tastiera (second keyboard). Perhaps this was not a deliberate choice on Foglia’s part if the supplier of these materials had sent certain wordings or text by mistake. It is much more probable, however, that these medallions were originally meant for another organ with two keyboards, and Foglia found it expedient, at the time of installing this instrument (for reasons that may never be known), to use the medallions we observe on the organ at the present time. It is clear, however, that this organ never had a second keyboard, and it is extremely doubtful that Foglia would have been attempting to make his pedal division expressive.

The porcelain medallions above the eight foot controls are not of uniform size, three being smaller than the other five. Furthermore, the fonts of the texts printed on them do not match. None of the three different fonts can be correlated in any obvious way with the functions of the foot levers or with the size of the medallions.

The impression that emerges from these observations is that of a builder who is improvising solutions to problems, without the benefit of any extra time or financial resources. One is also impressed by the tonal design of this organ, which is far more eclectic than that of Foglia’s organ in Arequipa. The provision for separately drawn mutations that combine to create a mixture (Decimaquinta
e nona; 22a 26a 29a ) is a characteristic feature of Italian Baroque organs.\textsuperscript{50} The Banda turca is an Italian version of the orage pedal found on numerous nineteenth-century French organs. These solitary “storm” ventils created the effect of thunder by causing the lowest three to five notes of the pedalboard to be simultaneously depressed with the deepest and loudest stops drawn. From these characteristics, it appears that Foglia had been exposed to a wide variety of organ-building traditions well before his arrival in Perú.

\textsuperscript{50} Peter Williams, The European Organ, 1450-1850 (London: B. T. Batsford, 1978), 206-208.
CHAPTER III

CAVAILLÉ-COLL IN PERÚ

That the Parisian firm of Aristide Cavaillé-Coll (1811–1899) delivered dozens of organs to Latin America bespeaks the builder’s irrefutable reputation and vast influence during the last half of the nineteenth century.\(^5\) As will be made clear in the following pages, the organs built for and shipped to Latin America by Cavaillé-Coll were quite small in comparison with his monumental instruments in France, but nevertheless they held great artistic and fiscal significance for the company.

There is absolutely no evidence to suggest that any member of the Cavaillé-Coll firm ever traveled to South America to sell or install an organ; however, a carefully written and diagrammed set of instructions, entitled Notice explicative pour le mont[al]ge de l'orgue de Valparaíso (Chili), has been found by Miguel Castillo Didier, professor at the University of Chile in Santiago. The instructions give clear and specific directions for the setup and installation of the firm’s organ in Valparaiso, Chile.\(^6\) It can be assumed that similar documents were included with all of the organs Cavaillé-Coll built and sent to remote regions of the world; they represent a clear desire on the part of Cavaillé-Coll to ensure the successful installation and public approbation of his instruments, wherever they may have been delivered.

As careful as Aristide was concerning the quality of the instruments he built, his employees were often careless, imprecise, or incomplete in maintaining

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\(^6\) Through the courtesy of Mr. Castillo and my colleague at the University of North Texas, Dr. Jesse Eschbach, the first page of this document is reproduced in appendix C, p. 100.
records, such as correspondence, proposals, contracts, specifications, and financial documents. We owe what we do know and understand about the practical and artistic aspects of his business to the clear and determined attempt by Cavaillé-Coll to document all aspects of each project and transaction. However, the company's hectic pace and fragile balancing between survival and ruin compromised employees' ability to record the plethora of changes accurately and completely, especially those occurring during the final phases of the various projects. This results in documents such as contract specifications, for example, that do not match the tonal specifications of the final product.53

This reality makes the task of finding accurate and reliable information about Cavaillé-Coll organs very difficult at times. Such is the case with respect to the three known Cavaillé-Coll organs in Perú. The existing records of the company document only two small organs in the country. Through the generous sharing of the unpublished list of organs that he observed and studied two and three decades ago, Hans van Gemert was the first to call attention to a third Cavaillé-Coll organ in Perú. This organ, which is in Pisco, did not appear in any records or archives either of the Cavaillé-Coll company or of any members of Aristide's family. Therefore, it was assumed that this small, two-manual instrument had never been properly documented before it left the factory, a circumstance that was, unfortunately, not unprecedented in the work of Aristide Cavaillé-Coll.54

The three extant Cavaillé-Coll instruments in Perú illustrate the care and quality that apparently went into every instrument the firm built, despite the sometimes modest sizes of the organs and the obscure locations of their installation. Notwithstanding some inevitable deterioration of the leather and

54 Ibid., introduction.
other conditions precipitated by the accumulated dirt that one would expect in
any instrument almost a century and a half old, the basic mechanical integrity of
these organs at the present time is exceptional.

The specifications and precise locations of these organs, as well as some of
the background relative to their purchase and delivery to Perú, are published here
for the first time.

**Pisco**

The earliest and the largest of the three Cavaillé-Coll organs in Perú speaks
from the spacious balcony in the rear of the Iglesia Matriz San Clemente, located
on the south side of the Plaza de Armas in Pisco. (See Figures C-1 and C-2, p. 79.)

Pisco is a small fishing village on the west coast of Perú, approximately
180 miles south of Lima. In the early years of the Peruvian Republic, Pisco was
particularly active in the lucrative exportation of guano, an ephemeral and
controversial trade that was pivotal in charting the chaotic course of the young
republic.

The organ appears to have been procured for the church by an influential
and infamous political and business figure, deeply involved with the commerce of
the region, especially with the guano industry. The front of the organ case
displays a plaque above the keydesk. (See Figures C-3 and C-4, p. 80.) It reads:

*HECHO EN PARIS*
*POR ORDEN DEL*
*SEÑOR DON DOMINGO ELÍAS*
*Casa Cavaillé-Coll Hijo*
*1850*

---

55 Made in Paris/ by order of/ Mr. Domingo Elías/ (by the) Firm of Cavaillé-Coll, the son/
1850.
The plaque itself is rich in suggestive nuance concerning Cavaillé-Coll and Domingo Elías. This organ was purchased and sent to Perú during a pivotal time in the history of Aristide’s fledgling business. Because he had been born into a lineage of organ builders four generations strong, the specific listing of hijo, that is, son, on this inscription is a clear indication that Aristide wished to distinguish his business from that of his forebears, especially that of his often-meddlesome father, Dominique, and his jealous brother, Vincent. In December of 1849, Aristide was in the process of dissolving his business partnership with the latter in an attempt to establish an independent reputation as a successful and visionary organ builder.56

The wording and the variation in size of the lettering on this plaque appear to aggrandize the accomplishment and magnify the contribution of the donor, Domingo Elías, the first native-born candidate for president of the Republic. It was about this time that Elías was making his first bid for the presidency.57 One could imagine a scenario in which Elías, as a means of ingratiating himself with his constituents, provided this gift to San Clemente, the most imposing of the buildings situated around the periphery of the Plaza de Armas.

The organ has the following specification:

56 Douglass, 255-56.
57 Gootenberg, 84.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEFT SIDE</th>
<th>CONSOLE</th>
<th>RIGHT SIDE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trompette</td>
<td>Trompette [in red]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-8-</td>
<td>- -</td>
<td>- -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fournitures</td>
<td>Hautbois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- -</td>
<td>-8-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quinte</td>
<td>Doublette</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- -</td>
<td>-2-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourdon</td>
<td>Prestant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-8-</td>
<td>-4-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-8-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pipes are arranged on the windchest, from front to back, as follows: *montre, bourdon, prestant, quinte, doublette, hautbois, fourniture, and trompette*. It is not possible to open up the case and remove the side panels sufficiently to determine which ranks are played from which keyboard, because the movable panels of the organ case are stuck in a closed position, the result of several earthquakes during the twentieth century.

Both manuals have a fifty-four-note compass, and the pedalboard comprises eighteen notes. There is a small toe lever in the lower right-hand corner of the toeboard that presumably couples the two manuals together. It appears that the pedal is permanently coupled to the lower manual. The bellows are supplied with air by pumping a hand-operated lever. There is no electric blower.

The history of this organ is not completely known, but a large amount of circumstantial evidence gives clues about its origin and its place in the history of organs.

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58 The marking of two dashes, separated by a period, in place of a pipe length beneath the stop name occurs in those instances where the proper identification of the makeup of the stop requires an indication different from a standard Arabic numeral: *Fourniture* requires a Roman numeral (probably "IV"), *Quinte* requires a fraction \((2^{2/3})\); and the length of the *Trompette* is already given on the left-hand side. This is consistent with an arrangement whereby the trompette can be used either on one of the manuals or in the pedal (red-lettered stop) as a solo voice.
the oeuvre of Aristide Cavaillé-Coll. As mentioned earlier, it has not been found in previous lists of organs built by Aristide Cavaillé-Coll. Jesse Eschbach, professor of organ at the University of North Texas, in Denton, was the first to suggest that this organ may have been originally delivered to another location and was later removed and sent to San Clemente in Pisco.59 After seeing pictures of the organ, Eschbach wondered if, on the basis of its size and tonal characteristics, it might not be the organ listed in the Cavaillé-Coll company records as having been delivered to Bolivia.60 That organ has been known as the “Santa Cruz” organ, so named after the exiled military leader and one-time president of Bolivia, General Andrés Santa Cruz, who personally selected and purchased the instrument in Paris during the fall of 1850.

The intriguing story of the Santa Cruz organ is preserved in portions of the letters, contracts, and proposals from the Cavaillé-Coll firm which survive in the personal collection of Mme. Jean Lapresté of Paris.61 Many of the documents from the Lapresté collection have been reprinted and/or translated and published by Fenner Douglass.62 However, a significant number of these documents remain unpublished and untranslated and perhaps have the key to many unopened doors in the search for a more complete understanding of the early work of this pivotal figure in the history of the organ.

It is fortuitous that Aristide Cavaillé-Coll was absent from his workshop and Paris for an extended period of time during the last four months of 1850. Had he not been away, it is unlikely that we would now know with certainty what was transpiring in the workshop during those months as he travelled between

61 Microfilms of Mme. Lapresté’s collection are held in the Oberlin Conservatory Library, Oberlin, Ohio, and photocopies of these microfilms are held in the Rare Book and Special Collections Library at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.
62 Douglass, op. cit.
various projects in southern France. The correspondence that went from Paris and the shop foreman, Frantz, to Aristide is a vivid and detailed record of the salient matters that concerned the company at that time.

The first mention of Santa Cruz in the correspondence of 1850 is in a letter dated 20 October, from Frantz to Aristide, who was in Béziers at the time. This letter demonstrates that when Santa Cruz visited the Cavaillé-Coll factory to listen to a number of organs previously assembled in the display room, Aristide had already sent him several estimates for a variety of new organs. Furthermore, it establishes a number of very interesting and essential facts: (1) The organ was to be shipped from France (Le Havre) on 18 December. (2) Santa Cruz was acting as an agent for an unnamed buyer in South America and had been authorized to spend five thousand francs for this organ, although he was prepared to exceed that total, having learned from Frantz that the organ he wanted could cost as much as twice that amount. (3) Santa Cruz stated that the organ to be purchased would be going to a country where there were few organs. (4) The organ was to be “delivered” without a swell box and completely reconditioned, with speaking case pipes at 4' pitch, and the rest dummies. (5) Frantz was anxious about the price estimates he had given to General Santa Cruz, but had set the prices high to leave room for bargaining.

The Lapresté collection does not include any correspondence received by the Cavaillé-Coll firm, so we do not know precisely how Aristide responded to Frantz’s request for guidance in this matter, if at all, although in a later letter to Aristide, Frantz referred to “the confidence you have shown in me.”64 As the following letters testify, Frantz did, on his own, continue to negotiate and

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63 Douglass, 283.
64 Douglass, 287.
complete this contract with the general, and he arranged for the preparation and
delivery of the organ, ahead of schedule, for the price he had quoted originally.

On 23 October, Frantz again wrote to Aristide, who was still in Béziers, to
communicate the events that had transpired when Frantz and Aristide’s father,
Dominique Cavaillé-Coll, went to visit Santa Cruz on 21 October, in an attempt to
finalize the contract with him. This letter is more informative in the perspective it
affords us about the concerns and the style with which the company bargained
and concluded its negotiations than it is interesting in any specific details
regarding the organ. It is unlikely that Frantz would have written this account if
he had been at all unsure of Aristide’s approval of his goals and the methods he
had used to achieve them:

Then he instructed me to read the contract I had prepared. As you know,
his best offer was 7,500 francs. In redrafting the contract, I took care to
insert for my future reference that the Scotch fir case would be decorated
only with paper-mâché and plaster. Before reading it to him, I said that
his price had forced me to omit the wood carvings and oak panels I would
have included on this organ. As I told you earlier, I was hoping to
persuade him to increase his offer to 8,000 francs. I had reason to be
pleased with my hesitation, because he didn’t want plaster ornaments, and
furthermore he was determined to have the oak panels. As I had hoped,
this became the trap that snared him. I insisted on 8,000 francs if I had to
accept the items that he still wanted. He finally agreed.65

This excerpt sets the stage for a clearer understanding about the Santa
Cruz organ, its origins, and its final destination. Several later letters written to
Aristide concern the Santa Cruz organ, but they do not materially advance our
knowledge about the instrument, save the letter of 28 October 1850. In this
communication, despite Frantz’s insistence that he would personally oversee the
meticulous reconditioning of the organ, Aristide’s father, Dominique, is reported
to have despairsed of the quality of this organ, suggesting that it is “junk.”66 This
clearly indicates that the organ to be prepared for General Santa Cruz’s mystery

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65 Douglass, 285.
66 Douglass, 287.
buyer was one of many organs already built and on display in the factory showroom, probably a trade-in that Cavaillé-Coll had received from an institution for whom he had built a new organ. Nevertheless, the information gleaned from the letter demonstrates that Cavaillé-Coll repeatedly attempted to maximize his profit on these smaller instruments taken in trade or built from scratch, while still giving careful attention and time to the quality of their construction and voicing.

The several letters from November of 1850 that pertain to the Santa Cruz instrument comment principally on the financial transactions associated with this contract and the progress of the construction of the case. One is impressed by the significance that this small organ had for the company at the time. Perhaps it was due to the international stature of the buyer's representative, or it could simply have been a matter of money: Santa Cruz's down payment of 2,600 francs was eagerly anticipated and was immediately used to give back pay to employees.67

On 8 December 1850, Frantz wrote to Aristide, then in Toulouse, about the near completion of the Santa Cruz organ:

To M. Aristide Cavaillé-Coll, the son, presently in Toulouse

M. Aristide, since Tuesday I have been busy with the reception, the packing and the writing of the detailed invoice concerning all the objects enclosed in each of the boxes for the organ of the general Santa Cruz. Therefore, I have not been able to have one single moment for myself, in order to give you information on what happened on this occasion.

Last Saturday I went to the general's house to let him know that he could come on Monday, December 2, in the morning, in order to verify and accept the organ. By Monday around one o'clock, the general was still not there. Therefore, I went back to his house. He told me that nobody told him about the meeting and asked me to whom I had talked: I answered him that I thought it was his servant. We agreed to have another meeting on Tuesday between 11 and 1 o'clock. In fact, he came that day accompanied by his lady, by other ladies, by one of his friends, and by the selected persons of the delegation. He did not bring anyone who would have the skills to touch the organ and who would have been able to verify it. I did my best to make sure that all the qualities of the organ could be

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67 Douglass, 289.
heard. I played solos sometimes on one clavier, sometimes on another, and then both together for the different effects. The general seemed satisfied, as were the persons who were with him. Madame, your mother, agreed to assist with the session and to accompany the general through the workshop. Mr. Camus did not leave the general during his whole stay in the house, and when the latter left, he said positively: "I am pleased, you can pack it now."...

As soon as yesterday evening, Thursday, all parts of the organ purchased by the general were packed with the utmost precautions, excepting the last box, which will hold all the pewter pipes, which require very particular precautions. At this time (it is 2:00 p.m.), the box is ready and could be taken like the others were yesterday, if we were not waiting for the inscription in copper letters, which must decorate the panel in the middle sculpted à jour. The general gave us that inscription only the day before yesterday and the manufacturer does not have pre-prepared letters of such a small size. This is due to the location of the inscription. Therefore, the letters had to be specially ordered. We will have them tonight. It is affirmative that the ship in Le Havre will leave again on December 22nd, so there is plenty of time to have the organ delivered to Le Havre.88

On the following day, two letters were entered into the official records of correspondence for the company:89

Letter dated 9 December 1850 to M. Pigneau, haider, 14, rue Grange barièire à Paris

Sir,

According to the orders that you received from General Santa Cruz and that you forwarded to us, we gave the following boxes to your driver:

December 5
Numbers 9, 10, 11 and 12 with the organ objects

December 9
Numbers 13 and 14 with the organ pipes

Concerning the destination, the procedure, and the order in which this shipment must be made, you certainly have discussed the details with the general. He will ship his boxes himself, and we have made a delivery to him from our organ manufactory at 66, rue de la Rochefoucault.

Sincerely,

PP de A. Cavaillé-Coll fils, signed (by) Camus
(P.S. sent via express mail)

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88 Lapresté Archives, Lettres III, 1, 873. The French text of this letter can be found in appendix B, pp. 97-98.
89 Lapresté Archives, Lettres III, 1, 874-75. The French texts of these letters can be found in appendix B, pp. 98-99.
Letter dated 9 December 1850 to General Santa-Cruz

General, we have the great honor to send you:

1. The note explaining the content of the six boxes with the organ number 160 that we sold to you on last November 4.
2. The receipt of the hauler Pigneau, you charged us to contact for shipment.
3. One invoice for the engraving in copper of the organ.
4. Another invoice for the selection of religious music.

Therefore, your account with us is as follows:

Price of the organ according to the contract 7,800.00
Invoice for the religious music 53.50
Invoice for the copper engraving 25.00

[Total] 7,878.50

To deduct

First payment received last November 4 2,000.00
Second payment received last November 16 600.00

Net to pay 5,278.50

(Payable, according to the contract, on the day of the delivery of said organ)

Please accept, Mr. General, my sentiments of gratitude for the confidence you have kindly granted to our business and the expression of profound respect of your most humble and obedient servant.

Sincerely,

Signed for Mr. A. Cavaillé-Coll on a trip. Frantz

Several salient features of the organ, as described in these documents, should be noted. In the letter of 8 December, we learn that the two-manual organ has a sculpted panel in the middle of the case, and that some copper letters are to be prepared for this area of the organ. Upon firsthand observation of the organ at San Clemente in Pisco, one sees that the inscription on the organ is, indeed, in a thin sheet of copper, which has been painted black, probably in an
effort to retard any corrosion from the briny air in this seaside village. (See Illustrations C-3 and C-4, page 80.)

From the documents of 9 December, we know that the organ had been assigned the number 160, according to some plan of numbering that was operative within the warehouse at that time. However, there is no present record of a numbering system consistent with 160. Moreover, the Lapresté archives include a catalogue of the prefabricated organs, thought to be either preowned or mass-produced, on display in the factory showroom in 1848. Neither an organ with the number 160 nor one with a specification that precisely matches the Pisco organ is to be found in these archives.

Curiously, a small two-manual instrument listed in this catalogue has a special handwritten note above the entry that reads, “Sold to General Santa Cruz,” with several different inventory or series numbers. The catalogue number, written in the upper left-hand corner of this page (folio 267), is “N° 4.” However, written underneath that catalogue number is “219,” and directly underneath that number is “N° 2 inventaire.”

Considering all the preceding information, in an attempt to confirm or disprove Eschbach’s conjecture that the Cavaillé-Coll organ in Pisco might be the Santa Cruz instrument, one is in the unenviable position of trying to determine where the truth lies in a plentitude of what is seemingly straightforward and accurate information. Despite the confusing presence of four different inventory numbers assigned to this organ (no. 160, no. 4, 219, and no. 2), it is impossible to

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70 Vendu à M. Le Général Santa Cruz.
71 Lapresté Archives, Devis V. f. 267.
refute my firsthand observation that the inscription on the organ is engraved in copper and that it is placed in a small sculpted wooden panel on the front of the case.

Also, the tonal specification of the organ in Pisco is remarkably similar to the specification of the organ documented in the Lapresté archives:

A new organ with two keyboards, from C to F, 54 notes, and a pedalboard, from C to F, 18 notes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Keyboard</th>
<th>Pipes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Flûte ouverte</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bourdon</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Prestant</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Viola di Gamba</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Keyboard</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Doublette</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Plein jeu</td>
<td>3 ranks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Trompette</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Hautbois</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pedalboard</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pédale de Trompette</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 534

If the reconditioning of the organ taking place in November 1850 had involved the revoicing, replacing, and, more importantly, the relabeling of some of the stops, the observed specification of the instrument can be reconciled with the specification listed in the catalogue of 1848, as follows (where the two specifications differ, the previous stop name is given in parentheses):
While we do not have access to any correspondence that Cavaillé-Coll
returned to the factory in Paris, in response to the frequent letters he received
from the shop foreman, it is nevertheless not difficult to believe that Aristide
would have been giving specific directions about how he wanted the organ in
question modified, if he had not already given such directions before his
departure from Paris. If such modifications had truly been part of the process,
then the *viola di gamba* 4' of the "old" organ was replaced by a *quinte* (2 2/3),
probably to complete the overtone reinforcement of the *plein jeu* combination
(*montre, prestant, doublette, and fourniture*).

Most likely, the other changes in stop names required little, if any,
fundamental alteration of the pipes. *Flûte ouverte* was a generic name used often
during the middle of the nineteenth century in France to refer to open pipes of
large scale that produced an indeterminate flute tone. (Cavaillé-Coll used this
designation frequently in the earliest organs he built.)*72* It is well within the
realm of possibility that the mouths of these pipes were slightly altered to
produce a heavier, darker, and more textured sound and renamed "*montre*";
however, these pipes might have been narrow enough the way they were to

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*72* Audsley, 136.
warrant the change of name without additional voicing work. The distinction between “plein jeu” and “fourniture” was even less distinct, so a simple change of stop name was probably all that was desired.

That the “No 4” organ described in the 1848 catalogue was listed as being new is somewhat more difficult to explain. In light of Dominique Cavaillé-Coll’s pronouncement that the organ was a piece of junk and Frantz’s stated intention to carefully recondition it, one might presume that it had been used before and taken in trade. However, there is another interpretation consistent with these recorded attitudes and intentions. The Santa Cruz organ could have been newly made by a different builder and taken in trade or barter by Cavaillé-Coll as part of a transaction of some unknown sort with another firm. This could explain Dominique’s disdain for the organ, on the one hand, and Frantz’s realization that the organ did need reworking, on the other.

Examination of the personal papers of Santa Cruz and Elías could elucidate any direct or specific link between these notable figures. Until this connection can be made, we cannot be certain that the Cavaillé-Coll organ in Pisco is the Santa Cruz organ, although the circumstantial evidence is very strong that they are one and the same instrument, to wit: it is more than intriguing that for longer than a century, it was assumed that the Santa Cruz organ was in Bolivia, even though there was no record of where in Bolivia it was located, or, for that matter, that any Cavaillé-Coll organ had ever been encountered in that country.
Lima

The other two Cavaillé-Coll organs in Perú have been known and included in the opus list of the company for many years. However, the specifications of these organs have not been published previously. Both are single-manual instruments, and according to the company records, the earlier of the two organs delivered to Lima, Opus 312, was sent from Paris on 18 January 1868 to the Chapel of the Sacred Heart. In reality, this chapel belongs to the Colegio Chalet, an exclusive day school for girls staffed by nuns of the Order of the Sacred Heart, whose convent is on the same campus. The convent, school, and its chapel are located at Avenida Chorrillos 556 in Chorrillos, a district to the south of Lima. However, Opus 312 is no longer at this location. According to Marita Velaochaga, the wheelchair-bound Mother Superior of this convent, they gave their organ to a convent belonging to the same order, and it was installed in that convent’s chapel, Santa Rosa of Lima, located in the center of Lima at Tacna 511, in 1997. Furthermore, both Huybens and the Cavaillé-Coll siblings accept the information contained in the manufacturer’s records, that this was a large organ (grand orgue). Such is obviously not the case.

The organ is in the balcony at the rear of the church. The console is attached to the case on the right side, as one faces the organ from the altar. (See Figure D-1, p. 81.) The keyboard has fifty-six notes, and the pedalboard has thirty notes. A balanced swell pedal is located in the middle of the toeboard, and a metal foot lever that controls coupling of the keyboard to the pedal is also located in the toeboard, to the left of the swell pedal. Although the original hand lever that pumps the bellows is fully connected and functions properly, there is a

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73 Cécile and Emmanuel Cavaillé-Coll, 161.
very loud electric blower hooked up to supply wind to the bellows. The blower
sits directly behind the organ case in the balcony. At the present time, the organ
functions at a minimal level. Numerous leaks in the wind system and several
ciphers severely compromise the instrument’s effectiveness. Furthermore, the
pipes of the soubasse do not sound at all. They were either not connected
following the move from Chorrillos, or were installed improperly at that time.

There are nine stop knobs evenly spaced across the fingerboard, directly
above the keyboard, each with the name of the stop engraved on an ivory face.
The ivory-engraved letters are so worn that the stop names are now difficult to
read, but the name of each stop also appears typed on small squares of white
paper that are taped directly above the stop knobs. From left to right, the stops
are: Soubasse 16, Montre 1,75 Flauto 8, Voix celeste 8, Dulciane 8, Prestant 4,
Nasar 2 2/3, 76 Basson 8-Basses, and Basson 8-Dessus.

The nameplate on the console reads, “Cavaillé-Coll/ A. Convers et Cie/
Paris.” (See Figure D-2, p. 81.) Despite the assumption made by some,77 this
could not have been an organ built by the firm of A. Convers on behalf of
Cavaillé-Coll. The Convers company did not exist during Aristide’s lifetime; it
took over the Cavaillé-Coll company several years after the latter was bought by
Charles Mutin, and Convers failed in the second decade of the twentieth
century.78 Whether Convers ever came to South America to work on this or any
other organ is not known. It is very clear that this organ received heavy use for
decades, and that when it became sufficiently worn, considerable funds were
expended to replace the keyboard, and perhaps the pedalboard, with parts that
were either ordered or brought with the repairman from France. In any event, it

75 This is obviously a typographical error. It should read, “Montre 8.”
76 This is obviously a typographical error. It should read, “Nasar 2 2/3.”
77 Hans van Gemert, personal communication via e-mail, 22 March 1999.
78 Jesse Eschbach, personal communication, April 16, 1999.
is doubtful that this level of expenditure and effort would have been made had there not been a strong expectation that the organ would continue in use for many years to come.

The second of the two organs that were delivered to Lima, Opus 415, was sent from Paris on 11 June 1873. As was often the situation with items of international commerce in the nineteenth century, the organ is named after the European entrepreneur who purchased the organ on behalf of the Peruvian buyer, in this instance, Alfred Dreyfuss, the father of the infamous financier. This organ is installed at the back of the convent chapel, perpendicular to the central axis of the nave, in the Templo Jesús, Maria y José, Camana 76, at Moquegua.

The Dreyfuss organ sits behind a wooden cage, on a platform that elevates the organ approximately three feet above the floor. The back of the organ case is situated within a few feet of the west wall of the nave. The remaining three sides of the cage consist of dozens of vertical sculpted dowels. (See Figure E-1, p. 82.)

This is also a one-manual organ with a hand-pumped bellows, but it has never been fitted with an electric blower. The keyboard has a compass of four and a half octaves (fifty-four notes), and that of the pedalboard is an octave and a half (eighteen notes). (See Figures E-2 and E-3, p. 82.) Its simple, but versatile, specification is given below, where “B” (basse) indicates stops that control pipes for the lower half of the keyboard, the division being made at middle C, and “D” (dessus) indicates the pipes in the upper half of the keyboard. The four stops without such a designation have one pipe for every note of the keyboard:

\[ \text{Huybens, 52.} \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEFT SIDE</th>
<th>CONSOLE</th>
<th>RIGHT SIDE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basson</td>
<td>Hautbois</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Nazard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doublette</td>
<td>2  2/3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Prestant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flûte</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourdon</td>
<td>Bourdon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pipes are arranged on the single windchest, front to back, in the following order: basson/hautbois, doublette, nazar, prestant, bourdon, and flûte.

One seldom finds reed stops at the front of a windchest, as they are here, but perhaps this configuration was chosen because Cavaillé-Coll knew that the space behind the organ would be tight. The reed pipes, usually among the pipes most sensitive to fluctuations in temperature and humidity, may have been placed at the front of the chest for ease of tuning. Excessive volume has evidently been a problem with the hautbois pipes being just behind the façade pipes, because a thin board, covered in white canvas, has been placed between the façade pipes and the reed pipes in an obvious attempt to decrease the volume of the latter.

Of the three Cavaillé-Coll organs in Perú, the Dreyfuss organ is in the best condition. Every pipe is in its place, and the keys of the single manual, while yellowing, are not excessively worn. The pedalboard is also in good condition.

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*Horizontal dashes appear on stops for ranks that are not divided.*
This lends credence to the assumption that the organ has not received the heavy use that the other two appear to have had. The presence of the wooden cage surrounding the organ betrays the fears of the nuns that the organ might be damaged or harmed in some way if access to the organ were not restricted. The restricted access has had the advantage of maintaining the instrument in mint condition. Only a very small expenditure would be needed to fix a leaky wind system and clean the pipes.

The gentleman who plays the convent’s harmonium during daily masses, Octavio Centeno, maintains that Innocente Foglia repaired the bellows of the Cavaillé-Coll organ in the early part of the century. While there is no documentation of this assertion, evidence of such repairs is easily seen from the back of the organ.
CHAPTER IV

TWO CATHEDRAL ORGANS:
AREQUIPA AND LIMA

In the cathedrals of the two largest cities in Perú are the two largest organs on record in the Republic. The two organs are related in several curious ways. They were built within three years of each other; they were built in Belgium by cousins—François Loret, of Malines (Arequipa, 1852), and Hippolyte Loret, of Brussels (Lima, 1855); and Innocente Foglia restored both organs at some time during the last five years of the nineteenth century.

It is frustrating to confront the ambiguous documentation concerning the two cathedral organs. Although the tonal specifications and dates of manufacture are known, most of the records concerning their installation and restoration are either confusing, inaccurate, or both. Nevertheless, these uncertainties do not render the organs uninteresting. In fact, some of the archival evidence challenges some of the presumed knowledge in the histories of the organs, and supplies additional perspectives on Innocente Foglia and his activities during the last decade of the century in question.

Arequipa

The organ in the cathedral of Arequipa was commissioned by the government of Ramón Castillo through its consul general in Belgium, Mariano
Eduardo de Rivero y Ustariz, in the middle of the nineteenth century, some thirty years after the establishment of the Republic in 1821.\textsuperscript{81}

The builder, François Bernard Loret, was born on 6 April 1808 in Dendermonde, approximately eighteen miles east of Ghent, into a family of recognized carillonneurs, organists, and organ builders who achieved national and international fame in the nineteenth century. By the beginning of 1846, François Loret was already established in Malines, which was the seat of the prelate of Belgium. Loret built more than three hundred organs in the Low Countries and elsewhere throughout the world. Loret's style was to give his organs a tonal character that reflected the then-current orchestral ideal, and to incorporate numerous scientific and technical innovations.\textsuperscript{82}

In all newspaper accounts of the most recent restoration of the organ (1991), the year of 1852 is given as the date of manufacture of the Arequipa organ, although this date is not presently visible anywhere on the exterior of the organ. The date on which the installation of the organ was completed, 18 March 1854, has been certified by Luc Lannoos, the Belgian organ scholar and consultant for the 1991 renovation. One can conjecture about why there were two years between the year of manufacture and the date of completion: it can be assumed that the organ was six to eight months in transit to Perú, and that, at the very least, a similar period would be needed to assemble, regulate, and tune the instrument before it could be played satisfactorily on a regular basis.

Fourteen years after the inauguration of the organ, Arequipa suffered a disastrous earthquake on 13 August 1868, which severely damaged the cathedral, but left the organ unharmed. The organ was immediately disassembled to avoid any possible damage to it by the structurally compromised building, and was

\textsuperscript{81} Lucio Calderón R., “Fue concluida la primera fase de restauración el Famoso órgano de la Basílica Catedral de Arequipa,” El Pueblo. 11 March 1991, 8.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
stored for almost thirty years before it was restored and reassembled in 1898 by
the ubiquitous Innocente Foglia, who apparently was contacted by cathedral
officials years earlier during the installation of his own organ at Arequipa’s
Franciscan monastery church.

The second restoration of this organ began on 27 December 1946, at the
request of the archbishop of Arequipa, Monsignor Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón.
The cathedral chapter (cabildo) funded the yearlong renovation carried out by
the Franciscan monk Alfonso Lazo.

In 1975, the dean of the cathedral chapter, Monsignor José Rivera
Martines, initiated the task of obtaining funding for yet another renovation of the
organ. Thanks to the persistence of the consul general of Perú in Brussels, Julio
Egoaquirre Alvarez, in 1987 the Belgian government agreed to fund the
restoration by the Belgian firm of Loncke Orgelbouw, under the direction of Luc
Lannoo, a musicologist and organologist employed by the Brussels Museum of
[Musical] Instruments and head of the Belgian government’s Central Archives of
Organs and of the division of Parishes and Mechanical Instruments. The work of
this restoration was begun in 1989 and completed in May 1991. The ceremony of
re-consecration of the restored instrument by the archbishop of Arequipa,
Monsignor Vargas Ruiz de Somocurcio, was held in conjunction with an organ
concert of music by van den Kerckhoven, Fétis, Franck, Meckelaire, Lemmens,
and Peeters, played by Lannoo.

The organ is installed in the apse at the rear of the cathedral on an
expansive concrete platform constructed by the city of Arequipa to receive the
organ during the restoration completed in 1991. This organ gallery and the

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83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
86 Ibid.
87 Ibid.
steps leading up to it rise at least four feet above the main floor of the nave, centered, and are set apart from the rest of the church by an intricately carved wooden rood screen approximately ten feet in height. (See Figure F-1, p. 83.)

The principal manual division, labeled *Grand Orgue*, and the pedal division are housed in a single ornate forty-foot case of dark wood that features three round façade towers of five pipes each, separated from each other by two flat pipe displays of ten pipes each. (See Figure F-3, p. 84.)

The secondary manual division, *Positif*, is located in a separate, much smaller, but otherwise identical, case (excepting some of the finial decorations), that stands four feet in front of the main case on the same concrete platform, so that the organist's back is toward the *Positif* when seated at the console.

The compass of each manual is fifty-four notes. The pedalboard of twenty-five notes controls the relatively small division indicated by the tonal specifications below. (See Figure F-2, p. 83.)

The names of the stops on the organ appear on printed paper labels either to the left of the stop knobs (for the *Grand Orgue*) or underneath them (for the *Positif* and *Pédale*). These paper labels replaced more permanent ones in the same positions during the 1991 restoration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manual I</th>
<th>Manual II</th>
<th>Pédale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Positif</em></td>
<td><em>Grand Orgue</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphone</td>
<td>Cornet</td>
<td>Euphone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flageolet</td>
<td>Montre</td>
<td>Bombarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulciana</td>
<td>Montre</td>
<td>Flûte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flûte</td>
<td>Dulciana</td>
<td>Flûte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourdon</td>
<td>Violon</td>
<td>Flûte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|          |           | 2p      |
|          |           | 16p     |
|          |           | 8p      |
|          |           | 8p      |
|          |           | 4p      |
|          |           | 8p      |
Prestant 4p
Flûte ouv[sic] 8p

Flûte87 4p
Prentant 4p
Quinte 3p
Octave 2p
Trompette 8p
Clairon 4p

The sole foot control on this organ is a small metal *ventil* pedal, protruding horizontally from the toeboard, which mechanically engages and disengages the Grand Orgue to Pédales coupler.

The presence of three flutes at 8′, 4′, and 2′ pitches in the pedal division suggests that the pedal on this organ was designed and intended for the frequent playing of solo-lines. These three stops are probably formed from one unified rank of flute pipes, perhaps the same mislabeled flute rank in the Grand Orgue.

In this regard, the tonal specification of the organ recalls the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century styles of organs built in France and Germany, where the pedal division was used frequently to play chorale melodies in long, slow notes, accompanied by the manuals. The presence of the Cornet 8′ on the Grand Orgue also represents an essential feature of most French Classic organs, although this stop is labeled unconventionally.88

The tonal specification of the Arequipa Cathedral organ also exhibits the typical nineteenth-century French and German traditions of providing numerous foundation (flue) and reed stops at 8′ and 16′ pitch among the divisions of the

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87 This rank of pipes sounded to me like an 8′ flute, rather than a 4′ flute, so it could have been mislabeled during the renovation in 1991. It was not possible at the time to gain access to the interior of the organ case, so this presumed error could not be definitively confirmed.

88 The typical cornet on a French Classic instrument comprises five sets of relatively short flute pipes, of differing lengths, that are drawn simultaneously with the reed stops of the Grand Orgue to reinforce the upper partials of the reeds in their highest registers. The presence of five sets of pipes, simultaneously drawn with one knob, is usually indicated as "V" rather than "8."
organ. The lack of any mixtures in this organ also marks it as a progressive instrument for the middle of the nineteenth century.

Despite the recent renovation in 1991, this organ is not in good condition. There are many ciphers throughout the organ, and the keyboard action is extremely heavy and unresponsive. Moreover, the glistening silver façade pipes were coated with a clear film that was probably intended to maintain the brilliant finish of the metal and prevent discoloration of these pipes. Unfortunately, the transparent treatment applied to the façade pipes is now blistering and creates an unpleasant appearance; it is difficult to believe that the sound of these pipes is not also affected.

**Lima**

Because there has not been any restoration of the Lima Cathedral organ in more than one hundred years, reliable information concerning its history is extremely scarce, and what information is available can only be described as confusing. Again, as with most matters pertaining to the organ in Perú, I have found the often simple, but always perceptive, observations of Hans van Gemert to be of inestimable value in making sense of the vagaries of Peruvian organ history. Van Gemert’s observations concerning this organ stem from his opportunities to examine carefully all parts of the instrument.

The first general comment that should be made about all the archival records at the Lima Cathedral, now located in an office entered from the north transept, is how scarce and limited are references of any sort to the Loret organ. The written information that has been found consists of correspondence, minutes of meetings of the Cabildo, and financial records. What is particularly puzzling is that there is no mention of its purchase, installation, or inauguration, records of
which one would certainly expect to find for the main organ in the cathedral of
the capitol city, especially when considering that the country’s “second” city,
Arequipa, had inaugurated its large new Belgian organ in the previous year.

The earliest mention of an organ in the cathedral archives is in a letter
dated 10 March 1868 from Archbishop Goyeneche to the chapter concerning the
bad condition of the cathedral’s “two old organs,” which were in urgent need of
repair.\textsuperscript{89} This is the first document regarding an organ in the Lima Cathedral
that I encountered in a careful reading of the volumes of correspondence of the
cathedral chapter from the beginning of the Republic, in 1821, through the first
two decades of the twentieth century—and there did not appear to be any missing
or incomplete segments in this collection of letters. Furthermore, an equally
careful reading from a similar period in the chapter’s daily proceedings, the many
volumes of the \textit{Acta Cabildo}, yielded no reference to an organ. My confidence in
the thoroughness of the chapter secretary’s records is buttressed by the
excruciatingly precise detail with which he faithfully recorded the most
minuscule and insignificant information about the business of the chapter.

Two previously unknown facts come to light from Archbishop Goyeneche’s
letter: there were apparently two organs in the cathedral thirteen years after the
Hippolyte Loret organ of 1855 (see Figures G-1 and G-2, p. 85) was built, and
each of these organs was considered to be old and in need of repair in 1868. It is,
indeed, quite possible that there were two organs at the cathedral, because there
still exist two identical balconies that project into the nave above the north and
south transepts, one of which (south) is now empty and one of which (north)
holds the Loret organ. Such a configuration of two organs, on opposing sides of
the nave, was used in numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century churches in

\textsuperscript{89} Correspondencia, Tomo 10, 1868-1875, Serie B. Informe del Arzobispo Goyeneche al
Cabildo Metropolitano, sobre el mal estado en que se hallaban los 2 órganos antiguos de la
Catedral, siendo urgente su reparación (Lima, 10 de marzo de 1868).
Spain and Italy. Presumably, the second organ was removed at some later time. A different explanation for the revelation that the cathedral had two organs in 1868 could be that one organ was in the cathedral chapel, which can only be entered through doors that open onto the Plaza de Armas, north of the main doors of the cathedral. Nevertheless, this conjecture does not eliminate the extraordinary difficulty in imagining a scenario in which a new organ of 1855 could be considered “old” and in “urgent” need of repair. From such documentation, one could effectively question whether Archbishop Goyeneche was referring to the Loret organ at all in his letter to the chapter in March of 1868. Could the cathedral have owned three organs, two older instruments from the colonial period in the nave and the new 1855 Loret instrument elsewhere on the cathedral grounds, perhaps in a chapel?

Seven years later, on 7 September 1875, the chapter records that it received a letter from an organ builder, Constant Noel, who had examined the cathedral’s organ (singular) because of its bad condition. He presented an estimate of the costs involved in repairing the instrument, and offered his services to restore the organ to good working order. Twenty-seven months later, one Mateo Boza reported to the chapter about the repairs made to the cathedral organ, again singular, and those still needing to be made in order to restore it to good condition. These latter two citations from the chapter’s correspondence yield additional, if equally confusing, information. If one can rely on the accuracy of the letters recorded and their precise implications, by 1875

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91 Correspondencia, Tomo 11, 1876–1885, Serie B. Se halla la carta de Constant Noel, fabricante de órganos, quien había examinado el órgano de la Catedral debido a su mal estado, y presentaba un presupuesto. Asimismo, ofrecía componerlo y dejarlo perfectamente bien (Lima, 7 de setiembre de 1875).
92 Correspondencia, Tomo 11, 1876–1885, Serie B. Se encuentra el informe de Mateo Boza, sobre los reparos hechos en el órgano de la Catedral y los que aun faltan para que esté en buen estado (Lima, 27 de diciembre de 1877).
the cathedral had either dispensed with concern for one of the two organs present in 1868, whether in the cathedral or in the chapel, or had removed one of them from the premises. In either case, it would still be very difficult to believe that the 1855 organ was one of the ones in such deplorable condition so soon after its installation.

Whichever cathedral instrument was repaired by 1877, there followed a relatively brief period before the cathedral itself underwent an extensive renovation, which began in 1893 and was completed for a grand celebration of the Feast of the Epiphany on 6 January 1898. In conjunction with the renovation of the cathedral, the cathedral organ was dismantled and eventually erected again by Innocente Foglia.

Evidently, the organ was originally placed in the choir of the cathedral (although I have found no indication as to where in the choir it was located):

The Most Illustrious Dr. Francisco Javier de Luna Pizarro, the successor of Mr. de las Heras, and the prelate, among those who have governed the metropolitan see since the formation of the Republic, who has accumulated most merits for the respect of his memory, gave the Cathedral a magnificent painting of Saint Veronica, a work by the well-known Murillo that has an estimated value of 5,000 pesos. He also gave the Cathedral a splendid organ, the best of those in existence in South America; ordered from Belgium, the cost up to its installation in the choir was 16,000 pesos.

Two documents in the cathedral archives suggest that there were important rearrangements of parts of the church in advance of the festivities on 6 January 1898 to accommodate and enhance the music:

93 "La Restauración del Templo," El Comercio (Lima), 6 January 1898, 2.
94 Fax to the author from Hans van Gemert, 12 December 1998.
95 M. García Irigoyen, Historia de La Catedral de Lima, 1535-1898 (Lima: Imprenta El País, 1898), 64. El Ilmo. Sr. Dr. D. Francisco Javier de Luna Pizarro, sucesor del Señor de las Heras, y el Prelado que más méritos ha contraído para que sea respetada su memoria, entre los que han regido la Metrópoli después de proclamada la República, obsequió á la Catedral un magnífico cuadro de la Verónica, obra del célebre Murillo, cuyo valor se estimaba en 5,000 pesos. Obsequió, igualmente, un espléndido órgano, el mejor de los que existen en Sud-América, pedido por el á Bélgica y cuyo costo hasta estar colocado en el Coro, ascendió á 16,000 pesos.
Besides the work on the new ornamentation that we shall discuss below, the principal projects are: . . . the place for the musicians has been moved to another site that was wisely chosen and usefully arranged; at that site, the magnificent organ given by the Most Illustrious Mr. Luna Pizarro has been newly assembled and is at the disposition of the church to satisfy completely the corresponding needs.\textsuperscript{96}

To this confirmation that the Loret organ was originally elsewhere in the cathedral, another can be added, which further suggests that an improvement in the acoustical effectiveness of the organ had been desired. The following excerpt, taken from the proceedings of the chapter, also includes an essential piece of information about the chronology of the enlargement of the cathedral organ by Innocente Foglia, that is, that not all of the work was completed at the same time:

The organ has been installed in the transept of the church, in the part that leads to the door to the archbishop's palace. In this manner, its acoustical conditions have been improved. Since there has not been time to equip it completely, only one of its keyboards functioned at today's festivities. The floor has a projection where a place has been reserved for the orchestra and singers.\textsuperscript{97}

The cathedral archives also contain pages of financial records and numerous receipts that make reference to payments to Innocente Foglia,\textsuperscript{98} and receipts from him between July 1900 and March 1901.\textsuperscript{99} These receipts and records can be categorized as (1) payments to Foglia for work on the cathedral

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., 75-76. Aparte de las de nuevo ornato de que nos ocuparemos después, las principales son estas: . . . el destinado a los músicos ha sido trasladado a otro sitio escogido con acierto y arreglado convenientemente; en él ha sido nuevamente armado el magnífico órgano obsequio del Ilmo. Señor Luna Pizarro, con que cuenta la iglesia y que llena ampliamente las necesidades que debe satisfacer.

\textsuperscript{97} Antonio San Cristóbal, \textit{La Catedral de Lima: Estudios y Documentos} (Lima: El Museo de Arte Religioso, 1996), 185. El órgano: ha sido colocado en el crucero de la iglesia, en la parte que conduce a la puerta comunicación con el palacio Arzobispal. De este modo, se ha mejorado sus condiciones acústicas. No ha habido tiempo para refaccionarlo todo, de tal manera que sólo ha funcionado en la fiesta de hoy uno de sus teclados. El piso tiene un vuelo donde se ha dejado sitio a la orquesta y los cantantes.

\textsuperscript{98} In these records, Foglia's last name is frequently misspelled as Figlia by the scribe, and the receipts generated by Foglia often contain spelling errors, especially when he wrote the months of the year, for example, substituting the Italian \textit{settembre} for the Spanish \textit{setiembre}.

organ and (2) payments to him for a melodium that the cathedral purchased sometime in the latter half of 1900. Most likely the melodium was purchased for the period during which the Loret organ was out of use and being fitted with its second manual division.

In the second half of 1900, mention is made twice in the proceedings of the Cabildo of work being carried out on the organ, which corresponds well with the period documented in the financial records:

News about the organ: the accountant Faustino Méndez reports, among other matters, that the cathedral’s organ was disassembled for repair and a melodium was purchased (Lima, 8 October 1900).\textsuperscript{101}

Report on the arrival of a crate, on the steamship “Limone,” that contained pieces for the cathedral’s organ (Lima, 26 November 1900).\textsuperscript{102}

Another, undated reference to the continuing work on the organ is found early in the first volume of the chapter’s correspondence in 1901:

Ten cases imported by the steamship "Memphis" leave customs, with accessories for the organ of the cathedral.\textsuperscript{103}

Considered together, these archival records suggest the following scenario with respect to the cathedral organ: It was dismantled and removed from somewhere in the choir during the comprehensive restoration of the cathedral by an unknown person or persons. By the reopening of the cathedral, on 6 January...

\textsuperscript{100} It is my belief that the melodium (harmonium) in question is the two-manual, with pedal, instrument presently kept behind the high altar of the cathedral. (See Figures G-3 and G-4, p. 86.) It is in poor condition and is not used in the daily or weekly liturgies at the cathedral.

\textsuperscript{101} Correspondencia, Tomo 13, 1897–1900, Serie B. Noticias sobre el órgano: el ecónomo Faustino Méndez informa entre otras cosas, que el órgano de la Catedral había sido desarmado para su compostura, y que se había comprado un melodium (Lima, 8 de octubre de 1900).

\textsuperscript{102} Correspondencia, Tomo 13, 1897–1900, Serie B. Informe sobre la llegada de una caja que contenía piezas para el órgano de la Catedral, la misma que llegó en el vapor “Limone” (Lima, 26 de noviembre de 1900).

\textsuperscript{103} Correspondencia, Tomo 14, 1901–1910, Serie B. Salen de la aduana 10 cajones importados por el vapor "Memphis," los mismos que contenían accesorios para el órgano de la Catedral.
1898, for the Feast of the Epiphany, the organ had been moved by Innocente Foglia to its present location in the gallery over the north transept and was used in the celebration. The north-transept gallery had been enlarged and extended to accommodate instrumentalists more easily. Although a second manual was not yet part of the organ, its addition had been planned for the beginning of 1898. Approximately two years later, Foglia disassembled the organ in order to add a second manual division. A large portion, if not all, of the new pipes and parts for the new division was shipped to Lima from overseas. Payments to Foglia for this work cease to be documented in the cathedral archives after March 1901.

If it had somehow been the 1855 Hippolyte Loret organ that was refurbished in 1877, perhaps by Constant Noel, one would not expect there to have been a need for any significant repairs to the organ by Foglia during the last decade of the nineteenth century, in preparation for the Epiphany festivities in 1898. Although we do not know if Foglia did any substantive repair work on the organ for this occasion, what we can be certain of, from consulting the preceding archival evidence, is that his work on the Hippolyte Loret organ in Lima radically changed the size and character of that instrument. To the twenty-six stops controlled by the single manual and pedal originally built by Loret, Foglia added another keyboard, controlling twenty-two stops. Those added pipes were placed on a new, separate spring chest, and each of the twenty-two stop knobs that control them is labeled in Italian.

Both of the present keyboards have a compass of fifty-six notes (four octaves and a half). (See Figure G-5, p. 87.) They are identical and both appear to be in fairly good repair, suggesting that whatever keyboard was originally supplied with the organ in 1855 was discarded and replaced by Foglia, circa 1898, to match the new keyboard for the additional division, which was enclosed in a swell box. The present pedalboard has a compass of twenty-seven notes (two
octaves plus two notes). It is not known if the present pedalboard is the original one, or if Foglia added a new pedalboard during his enlargement of the organ. In either case, the pedalboard now shows considerable wear from heavy use. (See Figure G-6, p. 88.)

The eclectic specification of the Lima Cathedral organ is as follows:

### Manual I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Basso</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>22³ 26³ 29³</th>
<th>[1, 2/3, 1/2]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Principale Soprano</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Cornetta a 4 voci Sp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourdon Basso</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Flauto Sp</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourdon Soprano</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Flauto Sp</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulciana</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ottavino Sp</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dulciana</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Voce celeste</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principale</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tromba</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottava</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Clarino</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duodecima</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Clarone Basso</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decimaquinta e nona</td>
<td>[2, 1 1/3]</td>
<td>Tromba Sop</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unione Tastiere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Manual II<sup>104</sup>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Viola Basse</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>Nazard</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bourdon</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Quinte</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prestant</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Cornet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flûte Harmonique</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Carrillon [sic] Turc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bourdon</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bombarde</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salicional</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Trompette</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeoline</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Basson et Hautbois</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prestant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Physharmonica</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fugara</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Clairon</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melophone</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ventil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<sup>104</sup> Two stop knobs are broken off and missing, so it was not possible to determine the identity of these two ranks.
The organ is also equipped with four metal foot levers that protrude from the toeboard, directly above the pedalboard. Each lever controls a different mechanical function when it is depressed and hooked down into a notch carved into the lower left side of the toeboard channel along which it travels. Labels affixed to the toeboard above the appropriate levers indicate the mechanical functions:

1. (?) Tastiera al Pedale  
2. Tira tutto Organo Grande I° Tastiera  
3. Espressione alla seconda Tastiera  
4. [No text]

Because of wear, the label of the first lever has lost the indication of which of the two keyboards (prima or seconda) is coupled to the pedalboard when this lever is depressed. Additionally, some type of abrasive action has completely eliminated the text on the label above the fourth lever. The label itself is consistent with the size, shape, and material of the other three and therefore appears to have been added to the organ at the same time; however, we cannot be certain of the fourth lever’s true function. It would seem logical that both the first and the third levers, despite uncertainty about their function, control the coupling of the first and the second manuals to the pedalboard.

Numerous observations can be made about the tonal characteristics of this organ, as reassembled and enlarged by Foglia.

The original Loret organ is clearly Romantic and French in its conception, with many foundation stops at 16’, 8’, and 4’ pitch. Among the most distinctive
parts of the organ's nineteenth-century sounds are the physharmonica and the melophone.

According to Audsley,\textsuperscript{105} the physharmonica, often translated as "harmonium" or "accordion," is a free-reed stop, with all the reeds mounted within its own special windchest. Resonators for a physharmonica are either very short or nonexistent and produce a gentle, pleasing tone of somewhat indeterminate color, best suited for coloring the timbre of other stops. The free-reeds of the physharmonica are similar in all respects to those used for the ordinary free-reed stops; the only difference lies in the manner in which they are mounted. The melophone is described by James Ingall Wedgewood as a string-toned stop of very delicate intonation. He cites two examples: that of Bridlington Priory Church, built by the Anneessens company of Menen, Belgium, and as a specialty of the W. W. Kimball Organ Company.\textsuperscript{106} Kimball built its melophone as a metal cylindrical flue pipe, of violin-diapason scale, speaking two qualities of unison pitch at one and the same time—in other words, a string-toned flute.\textsuperscript{107} All the melophones cited in this source are of 8' pitch, which makes the Loret rank of this name, at 4' length, even more exotic. To have had a complete series of flutes (bourdon 16, bourdon 8, flûte à chimineé 4) and strings (viola basse 16, salicional 8, melophone 4) present in a one-manual organ, as the Loret organ in Lima originally was, is remarkable, not to mention the presence of a luxurious variety of strings and flutes at the 8' and 4' levels from which to choose.

As mentioned earlier, Innocente Foglia added a distinctive division under expression, with its own manual and windchest, to the unique one-manual Belgian organ. His additions to the Lima Cathedral organ are very similar in

\textsuperscript{105} Audsley, 208-210.
\textsuperscript{106} The Kimball Organ Company was based in Chicago, Illinois, and flourished during the last half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.
mechanical and tonal style to that found in his four original organs in Perú. The specification of the division he supplied to the cathedral is in many ways identical to the specification of his organ at San Francisco in Lima. Furthermore, he retained his predilection for dividing his wind chests into two segments, \textit{in medio registro}, so that the upper and lower halves of many ranks of pipes could be used without the other.

Those who would expect to encounter great imagination or innovation in a project such as this will be disappointed. Nevertheless, it is almost unbelievable that Foglia accomplished what he did in the last five years of the century, given the difficulty at that time in communicating with and travelling to remote parts of Perú. Realistically, it would have been a superhuman achievement for him to have made significant innovations and found new solutions to various tonal and mechanical obstacles in the years 1895-1901, the period in which his work was spread over four original organs, two major reconstructions, and a thousand miles in between.

Because the parallel has just been drawn between the specification of the Foglia organ at San Francisco in Lima and that of his addition to the cathedral organ, it would be instructive to examine how the additional stops provided by Foglia complement and augment those of Belgian origin.

The most important and profound change to the 1855 Loret organ is the addition of a complete rank of 16' principal pipes to the tonal palette of the instrument. Although the Loret organ was founded on the 16' viola basse, this does not have the weight and gravity that a rank of principal pipes can add to an ensemble. Other Foglia additions that seem particularly effective, at least theoretically, include: the mutation stop “22^a 26^a 29^a”\footnote{When drawn with the Loret Carillon turc (comprised of the 15th, 17th, and 19th) the effect would be that of a six-rank mixture, with pipes of the following lengths: 2', 1 3/5', 1 1/3', 1'}. the \textit{voce celeste}, the
only undulant on the enlarged organ; and tremolo, likewise the only one on the organ.

The important strengths of the Loret tonal design that complement weaknesses or gaps in the Foglia specifications are the four complete ranks of reeds (bombarde, trompette, basson et hautbois, and clairon), the two harmonic flutes (flûte harmonique and flûte octaviante), and the 16' string stop (viola basse).

In light of the overwhelming archival evidence, and judging from the Italian stop names used throughout the second division, it is undoubtedly Innocente Foglia who used these names and carried out all the other aspects of the organ's enlargement during the first two years of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, I am somewhat uneasy about drawing this conclusion definitively, in the face of so much evidence that seems to be missing. If, for example, the cathedral archives are complete and all aspects of the cathedral's renovation during the last decade of the nineteenth century were properly documented, why is there no mention of who dismantled the organ in 1893, when the cathedral was first closed for its extensive restoration? Moreover, one wonders who were the persons playing the cathedral organ from the time of its installation through the beginning of the twentieth century. Finally, the cathedral archives fail to record the fate of the previous organs, which were considered to be "old" and in "bad condition." Until these matters are resolved with certainty, the confidence that can be reasonably placed in the completeness and authority of the cathedral archives should remain limited.

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2/3', 1/2": these pipes should sound, respectively, at the fundamental and the third, fifth, octave, twelfth, and fifteenth above it.
CHAPTER V

KNOWN AND UNKNOWN:
TWO SMALL FRENCH ORGANS

An additional and significant aspect of the history of nineteenth-century organs in Perú can be appreciated by studying some of the small organs to be found in less-prominent churches and monastic chapels. Such organs appear to typify the size and location of the majority of organs in Perú. The data recorded below suggest strongly that there are still numerous nineteenth-century organs, similar in size and location to those presented in this chapter, awaiting discovery throughout the country and elsewhere in South America.

It comes as no surprise that the number and character of nineteenth-century organs in Perú reflect the feverish intensity of production of many kinds of musical instruments in Europe during the final seventy-five years of that century. Especially in France, where musical instruments were made, sold, and often exported at a dizzying pace during this period, literally hundreds of thousands of organs of various designs were produced each month. Haine has determined that in 1875, the most productive year on record, more than two million French musical instruments were exported to Latin America alone, and even by the turn of the twentieth century, this figure remained in excess of a robust five hundred thousand.

Consistent with this well-documented phenomenon, I came across two small French organs of average quality and obscure origin during my stay in Perú. The former Spanish colonies were in a period of expansion and

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110 Ibid., 196.
development that created an enormous market for numerous types of European commodities as the nineteenth century progressed.

**Arequipa**

The small organ in the chapel of the convent La Recoleta, in Arequipa, bears the name of one of the most prolific manufacturers of musical instruments in nineteenth-century France, Jérôme Thibouville-Lamy. (See Figures H-1 and H-2, p. 89.) Because there is no surviving evidence indicating that Thibouville-Lamy ever manufactured organs, his firm probably commissioned another company to build the La Recoleta instrument.111 There were more than enough manufacturers of organs in France in the middle of the nineteenth century from which one could have requested a small one-manual organ. Neither the date of manufacture nor the date of delivery of this organ is known.112 Its specification follows. Brackets enclose the perceived character of unlabeled stops.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEFT SIDE</th>
<th>RIGHT SIDE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trompeta Real</td>
<td>Ripieno 3F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eufonia 8 p.</td>
<td>15th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Principal soprano 4']</td>
<td>[Flûte soprano 8']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Principal bass 4']</td>
<td>[Flûte bass 4']</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Principal 8']</td>
<td>[Bourdon 8']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

111 Personal communication with Kurt Lueders, executive director of the International Society of Organbuilders, 16 October 1999, Denton, Texas, at the conference “The North American Tribute to Aristide Cavaillé-Coll.”

112 The cleric who permitted access to the organ said that he recalled a date of 1850 for the organ. That year of manufacture is consistent with the many visual and tonal characteristics of the instrument.
The eclectic nomenclature etched into the porcelain stop knobs notwithstanding, the most striking feature of the organ is its transposable keyboard. A transposable keyboard is an unusual characteristic for any organ. Most organs that play today do not have one because the mechanism needed to shift from one group of pipes to another group with different pitch is challenging to design and build so that it works reliably. Most of the organs with transposable keyboards are small instruments. More frequently, it was the keyboards of harpsichords and other earlier styles of keyboard instruments with plucked strings that were built to be transposable. The mechanism necessary to shift the plectra between different sets of strings is much less complicated than that needed in an organ, where there is direct mechanical linkage between the keys and the pipes they control.

Any organ built with a transposable keyboard in the nineteenth century would have been patterned after seventeenth- and eighteenth-century keyboard models. As the nineteenth century progressed, organs were made larger and were played at increasingly standardized pitch and temperament. For these reasons, it is likely that the Thibouville-Lamy organ in La Recoleta was built in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. Its plain case, with three flat pipe displays in the façade, also signifies an earlier style of organ.

In addressing the macaronic nomenclature present among the names of the stops, we note the intermixture of French, Spanish, and Italian, suggesting that this organ may have been altered from its original state, perhaps several times. However, the script of the font is identical on all the stop knobs. Therefore, if the nomenclature, as it appears now, is the result of two or more alterations, someone has taken the time to standardize the scripts of the stop label fonts. Although it is possible that the organ was manufactured this way, it has only been in the later twentieth century that a trend toward building eclectic
organisms, frequently with correspondingly eclectic nomenclature, has become established.

Rimac

In the course of a day spent in the Lima suburb of Rimac, following leads and clues concerning Innocente Foglia, I was given access to the monastery church of Los Descalzos. As is typical in many Peruvian archives, the archivist at this monastery, Padre Julian Heras, jealously guarded his domain, refusing to grant me entrance to the archives for even a brief look at the layout inside the room. In the church, we encountered a previously unknown and undocumented nineteenth-century French organ in the rear gallery. (See Figures I-1 and I-2, pp. 90-91.) It was said by Padre Heras to have been installed in 1862. There is no nameplate or other indications on the organ to tell where, when, or by whom it was built. Similar to the work of Foglia in its divided windchests and single keyboard in medio registro, the Descalzos organ has the following specification:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEFT SIDE</th>
<th>RIGHT SIDE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cornet (V)</td>
<td>Tremolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basse de Plein jeu</td>
<td>Basse de Doublette (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basse de Nazard (2 2/3)</td>
<td>Basse de Prestant (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basse de Bourdon (16 or 8)</td>
<td>Basse de Flûte (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basse de Euphone (8)</td>
<td>Clairon (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The organ has a pedalboard of nineteen notes, from C to F, and two unlabeled *ventils* in the toeboard. (See Figure I-3, p. 91.) The organ receives its wind from a single-fold, hand-pumped bellows.

There are no indications on the stop knobs about the length of the lowest pipe in each rank. Nevertheless, one can make reliable assumptions about the lengths of most of the pipes in the Descalzos organ, based on the traditional lengths of pipes with the same names in other organs of the same style. These assumed lengths have been added in parentheses in the list of stops above, next to the stop name of the lowest pipes in the respective ranks.

The tonal specification of this instrument can be classified as early Romantic. Free reeds, such as the euphone, were very popular in Romantic organs, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century. The *flûte harmonia* is also a characteristically Romantic rank, developed and used first in 1841 by Aristide Cavaillé-Coll and almost universally adopted and adapted in every national tradition of organ building since then.13

The mixture and mutation stops, such as the *plein jeu*, *nazard*, and the *cornet*, were common features of Baroque and Classical organs. Their inclusion in this and other organs well into the latter half of the nineteenth century signifies the gradual and uneven evolution in the tonal character of organs throughout that century.

An investment of more time and effort will certainly produce further discoveries of unique and unknown nineteenth-century organs throughout Perú and a concomitant awareness of how integrated organs were into the fabric of ecclesiastical communities in the last half of the nineteenth century.

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13 Audsley, 134-35.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS:
WHAT THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ORGANS
TELL US ABOUT THE PAST

To conclude this preliminary study of nineteenth-century organs in Perú with a detailed summary of the previous five chapters seems unnecessary. The data obtained and communicated in the first five chapters speak for themselves, as does the clear understanding from the information presented that there is much more to be known and understood about the builders, the instruments they made, and the circumstances surrounding their creation.

A more effective use of this space would be to chart the course for subsequent investigations of this kind. In reiterating the conclusion of chapter 5— that continuing the search for nineteenth-century organs, as well as colonial ones, will surely yield significant additions to our catalogue of known organs— I am not urging merely an increase in the size and scope of the list. Although a more comprehensive list is a desirable and probably precursory step to meeting the following challenge, a deeper and more fundamental musicological question remains almost completely unanswered. Answering this question should now become the principal motivation for continued research into and cataloguing of the extant organs in Perú.

Robert M. Stevenson has ably brought to light numerous documents concerning the practice of employing organists and using organs in the services of
the Lima and Cuzco Cathedrals during the viceregal period. Despite Stevenson's glimpse of the collaborative role of organists with singers and instrumentalists, we know virtually nothing about the character of the music played on the organs, the registrations used by the organists of the many and varied organs in the country, or the effect of the organs themselves on the music that was played on them.

Because Stevenson has searched for manuscripts of keyboard music in the archives of numerous South American churches and found only limited amounts of such music, it is improbable that we would find more than he did in the four decades of his research, which was primarily music for keyboard instruments written in Europe, or written by Europeans in South America, for use in the monasteries and cathedrals during the viceregal era. Nevertheless, what may still be possible to gain from a continuing quest for unknown organs and any corresponding archival sources is a clearer understanding of the style and structure of music played on the vast array of organs documented in this thesis and by Hans van Gemert in the last thirty years. I hope that the search for this kind of understanding will motivate a continuation of the research presented here.

Any conclusion formed from the most restrictive interpretation possible of the evidence presented by Stevenson, i.e., that organs in Perú have always been used exclusively as constituents of ecclesiastical ensembles, would seem inconsistent with the number and variety of organs still in existence. One could reasonably assert that, in colonial times, the diminutive organs in village churches discovered by van Gemert were sufficient to play continuo in ensemble with instrumentalists, accompany all kinds of congregational singing, and play

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114 Stevenson, 73-75.
simple verses of liturgical texts, either composed or improvised, in *alternatim* with a choir or soloist.

Even if this scenario is accepted as true, questions about the ways in which organs were used in the larger churches and towns of Perú during the colonial period and throughout the nineteenth century remain unanswered. For those larger churches that boasted of two organs for many centuries, certainly a more elaborate and extensive use of multiple organs would be expected than the uncomplicated use hypothesized and imagined in the village churches. However, there are no records of music manuscripts that confirm our expectations.

Furthermore, the continuous purchase, renewal, and replacement of organs throughout the nineteenth century, culminating with a doubling in size of the Lima Cathedral organ, virtually demands the existence of a repertoire that has yet to be identified. If, in fact, we eventually determine that the overwhelming balance of organ music performed in Perú was improvised and that there was no requirement or impulse to commit it to manuscript, this situation would be highly atypical with reference to the history of western ecclesiastical music. Whether one is referring to Scheidt’s *Tablatura nova*, Merulo’s organ masses, Bach’s preludes and fugues, or Messiaen’s *Pentecost Mass*, such manuscripts have indicated how the organs for which they were written were used. Those manuscripts of western vocal and instrumental music have provided the principal means by which musicologists pieced together an understanding of musical style and practice for more than two millennia, always believing that such documents as have survived the vicissitudes of time represent a mere fraction of what was actually performed or composed.

We understand clearly that choral music from Spain found its way quickly to the South American colonies after 1535, that the native Andeans were instructed in the art of composition, and that eventually the native peoples
composed great quantities of music for chorus and instruments that survive in numerous archives. We have also learned that native Peruvians built organs for several hundred years, and that evidence exists in abundance. Therefore, why is it that the same cannot be said about organ music? If the only organ music used in liturgies of Peruvian churches had been improvised, we would expect to find some manuscripts that were used for instruction, compositions that were played in concerts, some written indication of what had been played, how it was played, or how it was received.

With the wealth of existing archival evidence informing our generation about so many aspects of musical activity in Perú, even though it is incomplete, the principal concern with respect to the organ music is not that the records have been completely lost, destroyed, or stolen. Rather, the concern is about where to find them, and the answers we seek will most likely be uncovered with some of the Peruvian organs that are still awaiting discovery.
Figure A-1. Nameplate of the Foglia organ in Arequipa at the monastery of San Francisco.

Figure A-2. Façade of the Foglia organ in Arequipa at the monastery of San Francisco.
Figure A-3. Toeboard of the Foglia organ in Arequipa at the monastery of San Francisco.

Figure A-4. Interior view of the Foglia organ in Arequipa at the monastery of San Francisco.
Figure B-1. Façade of the Foglia organ in Lima at the monastery of San Francisco.

Figure B-2. Toeboard and pedalboard of the Foglia organ in Lima at the monastery of San Francisco.
Figures C-1 and C-2. Pisco Cavallé-Coll: Front façade views.
Figures C-3 and C-4. Dedication plaque above the console of the Pisco Cavallé-Coll.
Figure D-1. Cavaillé-Coll, Op. 312: Console and pedalboard.

Figure D-2. Cavaillé-Coll, Op. 312: Nameplate.
Figure E-1. Cavaillé-Coll, Op. 415, The "Dreyfuss" Organ: Templo Jesús, Maria y José, Lima.

Figure E-2. Cavaillé-Coll, Op. 415: Keydesk and stop jambs.

Figure E-3. Cavaillé-Coll, Op. 415: Pedalboard.
Figure F-1. Rood screen in front of the Arequipa Cathedral organ, by François Loret.

Figure F-2. Console of the Arequipa Cathedral organ, by François Loret.
Figure F-3. Façade of the François Loret organ in the cathedral of Arequipa.
Figure G-1. Nameplate on the Lima Cathedral organ using the Spanish spelling of the builder's first name.

Figure G-2. Central façade of the Lima Cathedral organ case, as seen from the floor of the balcony.
Figure G-3. Lima Cathedral, harmonium; builder unknown.

Figure G-4. Lima Cathedral, harmonium; builder unknown.
Figure G-5. Keyboards and stop jambs of the Lima Cathedral organ.
Figure G-6. Keyboards and pedalboard of the Lima Cathedral organ.
Figure H-1. Nameplate of the Thibouville-Lamay organ in Arequipa at the convent La Recoleta.

Figure H-2. Façade of the Thibouville-Lamay organ in Arequipa at the convent La Recoleta.
Figure I-1. Convento de los Descalzos, Lima; French, ca. 1862, builder unknown.
Figure I-2. Descalzos façade.

Figure I-3. Descalzos pedalboard.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A
TRANSLATIONS OF
ITALIAN ARTICLES

PROSPERO FOGlia AND HIS SON GIOVANNI

Prospero and his brother, Gaetano, worked at [the organ building firm] Serassi's. In 1868, he opened a workshop by himself, first at Palazuolo sull'Oglio (Brescia), his hometown, and then in Bergamo (Via Borgo Palazzo 42). From 1884, the son, Giovanni (1856-1922), became the owner of the factory. We know very little about Prospero's activity; he died before 1898. Of Giovanni's life, we have more information. His work was very well organized (he had up to twelve workers), intense (there are many organs on which he worked), and it extended over a large geographical area. (It took place not only in Bergamasca, but Lombardia, Trentino, Piemonte, Abruzzi, Sardegna, and even in Cyprus and Palestine.) Giovanni was an organ maker of particular sensitivity, fertile with ideas and hard working. On one hand, he paid attention to the new trends in organ building, but on the other, he truly respected the school of the eighteenth century, the one he felt he was continuing in some way. He loved to experiment, but he struggled to reconcile tradition with modern ways, frequently with results that did not always repay his noteworthy efforts. For example, he renovated the mechanical action of a nineteenth-century (Italian?) organ with a system from the French (Classic?) school, but after some time, the results were proved to be inefficient. In general, in the work of restorations, he remained faithful to the construction principles of the nineteenth century, paying particular attention to intonation and tuning. After his death, the machinery of his factory was taken by the Felice Onedi Factory of Milano.

PROSPERO AND GIOVANNI FOGlia

Prospero Foglia, a native of Palazuolo sull'Oglio who was trained as a student and later worked at [the organ building firm] Serassi's, had a small organ factory in his hometown until 1868. Because of health problems, he stopped working in 1885. His young son Giovanni, born at Bergamo on 29 July 1856, was led by his father to the craft of organ-making. At the age of 12, he helped his father, who had a lot of work, especially at Trentino. In 1871 he had built the organ

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1 References to the content of these articles may be found in the text on pages 15 and 16.
3 Carlo Traini, Orgarari Bergamaschi (Bergamo: Comune di Bergamo, 1958), 71.
of Condino, in the Giudicarie. From Palazuolo, he transferred the factory to Bergamo. At the age of 21, under the name of his father's factory, he was called by Father Francesco, from the Capuccini (Franciscan order) to Trento, and then later, he was sent to the Holy Land where, beginning in 1878, he lived for about 14 years, doing important work in restoration and modernization. His work on the organs of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and St. Salvatore in Jerusalem, and of the Church of the Nativity in Nazareth was praised. He also built the organ of the Sanctuary of the Sacred Mount Carmel in Palestine, being highly praised by Reverend Filippo di Montealvignio, priest and organist in Nazareth. In a declaration of 16 June 1878, Father Antonio da Tivoli, guardian of the Convent of the Holy Land of Lamarcì in Cyprus, stated that the young Giovanni Foglia, son of Prospero, in addition to having rare Christian virtues, mastered his craft extraordinarily, and was devoted to the Franciscan family of Holy Land that he represented. Throughout the fifteen years that Father Tivoli had the pleasure of enjoying Giovanni's company, he continued to admire his rare virtues and the enthusiasm with which he fixed, modified, and tuned their organ. Back in Bergamo, where he established his workshop at the address of Via Borgo Palazzo 42, he continued with important works in and out of the province, in Strambino (Piemonte), Veneto, Perugia, Abruzzi, Montebello, Sardegna, and Castiglioni d'Intelvi, having in this workshop approximately twelve workers. His new organs were those of Pezzoldo, 1899 (praised by the teacher Passini from Brescia), and that of Fino Del Monte (1910). He renewed, enlarged and modernized the organs of the parishes of Seriate, Solza, Montevalalta, Sambusita, Zogno, Nembro, Pontida, etc. In 1900, he obtained the [patent] rights for a model of an organ with pistons, which had no good luck, being soon replaced by a tubular [pneumatic?] organ. In 1915, he moved to his own house in Via Fratelli Cairoli, now Via Umberto I. There he endured the long sickness of one of his daughters, which lasted eight years, and the First World War, during which some of his basic machinery was taken to be used in the Stabilimento Magrini for war purposes. All of this contributed to compromise his economic situation and embitter his character. He died suddenly on the street Via Borgo Sta. Caterina, on 5 July 1922. The material of his factory was removed by the factory Ondei, from Milano.
APPENDIX B

FRENCH TEXTS OF LETTERS
PRESENTED IN CHAPTER III

Lettre datée du 8 décembre 1850

M. Aristide Cavaillé-Coll fils présentement à Toulouse
M. Aristide. Occupé depuis mardi à la réception, à l'emballage et à la rédaction de
la note détaillée de tous les objets enfermés dans chaque caisse de l'orgue de
Santa Cruz, je n'ai pu encore avoir un instant à moi pour vous donner
connaissance de ce qui s'est passé à cette occasion.
J'ai été samedi dernier chez le général pour lui dire qu'il pourrait venir lundi 2
décembre dans la matinée pour en faire la vérification et la réception. Lundi vers
une heure ne voyant pas arriver le général, je fus de nouveau le trouver. Il me dit
que personne ne lui avait parlé de cette affaire et demanda à qui j'avais parlé : je
lui répondis que je pensais que c'était à son valet auprès de qui j'avais fait cette
recommandation. Il fut convenu qu'il viendrait mardi entre 11 heures et 13 heures.
Effectivement, il vint ce jour-là accompagné de sa Dame, d'autres dames, d'un de
ses amis et les attachés à la légation. Il n'amena personne pour toucher l'orgue et
en faire la vérification ; je fis de mon mieux pour faire ressortir toutes les qualités
de l'orgue, jouant des solos tantôt sur un clavier, tantôt sur l'autre, et les deux
ensemble pour les effets. Le général apprécia ainsi que toute sa suite.
Madame votre mère a bien voulu assister à la séance et accompagner le général
dans la visite qu'il a faite dans l'atelier. M. Camus n'a pas quitté un instant le
général pendant son séjour à la maison et en partant, il lui a dit positivement :
« je suis content, maintenant vous pouvez emballer ».
A peine le général était-il sorti qu'arriva M. Leprevost pour apprécier le son de
l'orgue du Calvaire dans la Chapelle de la Ste Vierge. Nous lui répondîmes
que nos chefs ouvriers étant occupés, il nous était difficile de réponde à sa
demande, que cependant pour lui prouver notre bon vouloir, nous nous
rendrions à St Germain pour voir à Callinet si Vial pouvait s'absenter pendant
une semaine. Aussitôt dit, aussitôt fait, il était 3 h 30 moins sept minutes lorsque
M. Camus et moi sortimes de la maison, et nous arrivâmes à l'heure pour le
départ de 3 h 30.
M. Camus demanda aussitôt notre arrivée à Callinet, s'il pensait pouvoir quitter
St Germain, avec Vial pendant une semaine sans que les travaux de l'orgue ne
souffrissent. Callinet répondit que cette semaine tous les travaux en train seraient
terminés dans leur atelier, et que le buffet d'orgue ne pouvant être mis à leur
disposition la semaine prochaine, ils étaient parfaitement en droit de quitter St
Germain jusqu'à ce que le buffet fût prêt à leur être livré.

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\footnote{The \textit{English translations of these letters are given on pages 37 through 39.}}
Nous nous rendimes sur le champ chez M. le Président de la fabrique chez qui nous rencontrâmes M. le Curé, et là M. Camus exposa l'affaire qui rend de suite une solution favorable. Le même soir, à 9 heures, nous quittâmes St Germain pour venir coucher à Paris. Dès le lendemain matin, j'informai M. Leprevost que notre voyage avait eu un résultat favorable, et que lundi 9 heures, Callinet et Vial allaient s'installer à St Roch, pour monter l'orgue en question. Pendant ce montage vous arriverez et vous entretiendrez avec M. Leprevost tant pour le prix du travail que pour la confection d'un hautbois neuf.

Dès hier au soir jeudi, tout l'orgue du général était emballé avec le plus grand soin, à l'exception de la dernière caisse devant renfermer tous les jeux d'étain qui demandaient des soins tout particulier. A l'heure qu'il est (2 heures), la caisse est prête, et pourrait être enlevée comme l'ont été les autres dès hier si nous n'attendions l'inscription en lettre de cuivre qui doit décorer le panneau du milieu sculpté à jour. Le général ne nous ayant donné cette inscription qu'avant hier et le fabricant n'ayant pas de lettres toutes préparées vu la petitesse des caractères exigée par l'emplacement de l'inscription, il a fallu faire les lettres exprès. Nous les aurons ce soir. Il est positif aujourd'hui que le bâtiment du Havre repart le 22 décembre, de sorte qu'il y a tout le temps nécessaire et au delà pour faire l'expédition de l'orgue au Havre.

M. Camus me charge de vous faire ses compliments et de vous dire de hâter votre retour pour aviser aux paiements de fin d'année, entre autres à Loy sel et Hubin qui refusent de faire une nouvelle livraison sous prétexte que le crédit de 400 frs est épuisé. L'étain que nous avions demandé était destiné à faire la Montre de Costa Rica. M. Camus fera prendre cet étain aussitôt que le général Santa Cruz nous aura soldé les deux factures de l'orgue que nous lui avons vendu.

[.....] Votre tout dévoué serviteur.

**Lettre du 9 décembre 1850 à M. Pigneau**

*commissionaire de roulage 14 rue Grange barelière à Paris*

Monsieur,

D'après les ordres que vous avez reçus du général Santa Cruz et que vous nous avez transmis, nous avons remis à votre camioneur les caisses suivantes :

- Le 5 décembre
- Numéros 9, 10, 11 et 12 contenant les objets d'orgues
- Le 9 décembre
- Numéros 13 et 14 contenant les tuyaux d'orgues

Quant à la destination, à la marche à suivre et l'ordre dans lequel cette expédition doit avoir lieu, vous avez dû vous entendre avec le dit général qui expédie lui-même ces colis et auquel nous avons fait livraison en notre manufacture d'orgues rue de la Rochefoucault numéro 66.

J'ai l'honneur, Monsieur, de vous saluer

PP de A. Cavaillé-Coll fils signé Camus

(P.S. remise pas exprès)
Lettre du 9 décembre 1850 au Général Santa-Cruz

Monsieur le Général.

Nous avons l'honneur de vous remettre ci-joint :
1. la note explicative du contenu des six caisses enfevant l'orgue numéro 160 que nous vous avons vendu le 4 novembre dernier.
2. Le récépissé du commissaire de roulage Pigneau que vous nous avez chargé de transport.
3. Une facture pour l'inscription en cuivre gravée de l'orgue.
4. Une autre facture de recueils de musique religieuse.

En conséquence, votre compte chez nous est régularisé comme suit :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Montant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prix de l'orgue aux terme du marché</td>
<td>7800.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facture de musique religieuse</td>
<td>53.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facture de la plaque de cuivre</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7878.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A déduire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Montant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Premier à compte reçu le 4 novembre</td>
<td>2000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuxième à compte reçu le 16 novembre</td>
<td>600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reste net</td>
<td>5278.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Payable aux termes du marché le jour de la livraison du dit orgue.)

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Général, mes sentiments de gratitude pour la confiance que vous avez bien voulu accorder à notre maison et l'hommage du profond respect de votre très humble et obéissant serviteur. Signé pour M. A. Cavaillé-Coll fils en voyage. Frantz
APPENDIX C

MANUFACTURE D'OPOUES D'ÉGLISE ET DE SALON.

ARISTIDE CAVAILLÉ-COLL

29, 30 ET 31, AVENUE DE L'OPÉRA, PARIS.

Exposition de Paris, 1867.

HORS CONCOURS, EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE DE 1867.

Notre explication pour le montage de l'orgue de Valfréjus, etc.,

Article premier.

Avec commissariat, pour les voûtes 4142, 4157, 4158. Avec le permis de.

L'architecte et autres pièces d'orgues pour la rue Boucicaut, avec.

L'article est, en l'état de la déclaration, sans défaut.

C'est à la suite de la précédente. Nous avons donc le dessin en couleur avec.

La facture est la même que la précédente. Nous avons donc le dessin en couleur avec.

La facture est la même que la précédente. Nous avons donc le dessin en couleur avec.

La facture est la même que la précédente. Nous avons donc le dessin en couleur avec.